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Action Required:	See paragraph 2.	1	C
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References :	A. HMMA-35905, 27 November B. MEXICO CITY-8228, 27		
	•		i
1. Forwarde	d herewith as attachment	=1 ar	e four reports
on the latest dev	elopments of the LIRING-3	oper	ation prepared
by Wallace B. ROW	TON and dated 5, 10, 11. a points covered in these	repo	rts are as
follow:		-	
a. LIR	ING-3 made contact on 5 De	ecemb	er with
one Humberto	X*GONZALEZ Vega (no Static	on tr	aces),
, who has appa	rently been designated by contact with LIRING-3 in	the Mexi	FAR as
A descriptio	n and a sketch of GONZALE	z pro	vided by
LIRING-3 are	contained in ROWTON's 10	Dece	mber
report.			
	Continued		
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T Ke: connection	on with 201-7983018	•	
Attachments:			
1. Reports (4),			
2. Letter (1), 3. Identity she	u/s/c et (1). u/s/c		
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b. According to GONZALEZ, Identity D, who left for Guatemala with LIRING-3 and, according to the latter, was probably executed after a period of detention, may still be alive and may have made a "deal" with the Guatemalan authorities. Identity D had apparently misappropriated FAR funds before going to Guatemala. LIRING-9's remarks to LIRING-3, as mentioned in ROWTON's report of 5 December, may be connected with Identity D's misdoings.

- c. LIRING-3 hinted to LIRING-9 that he may accept a teaching job at the University of Jalapa. (Such a job was indeed recently offered to him.) LIRING-9 advised LIRING-3 not to accept this as he would much rather send him on a trip to PBRUMEN.
- d. From a letter received from Gustavo Tit Guatimala. \*\*COLINDRES Barrios, LIRING-3 gathered that the A: Guatimala BARRIOS brothers (Miguel and Juan Leon) may soon be released and may, in fact, contact him in Mexico City. The original text of that letter and its envelope are forwarded under separate cover as attachment AD. LINING-D interpreted some remarks made to him by Humberto GONZALEZ as another indication of a possible contact by the BARRIOS brothers in the near future. LIRING-3 plans to write back to the address given by COLINDRES and mention that he is in contact with GONZALEZ in the hope of getting a reaction from COLINDRES.

BARRIOS, Miguel 201-216006

for Willard C. CURTIS

CLASSIFICATION PAGE NO.

opu 64 **53 a** USE PREVIOUS EDITIO

SECRET

CONTINUED \$

2 of 2

## HEREWITH ATTACHMENT TO

SECRET

AGENT SERVICE RECORD

21 Aug 69

- 1. Agent Cryptonym: LILING-3
- 2. Project: LIE WINE
- 3. Agent Recruited By: Wallace P. ECUTON
- 4. Capacity in Which Agent Served: Access agent to Cubin Embassy; Informent on Central American revolutionary groups and activities.
- 5. Rate of Pay: Did not receive regular salary, but was given between 3000 and 3500 mexican resos per month. (Equivalent to \$240 to \$280).
- 6. Other Commitments: ..cre
- 7. Agent Dismissed By: Leonard S. TORLET. Dismissal effective 1 July 1969.
- 8. Reason for Dismissal: Agent in effect terminated himself, since he failed to initiate contact with Station after being turned over to TURNET by RCATCH.
- 9. Security Risks: LINING-3 was not made witting of EVICOV interest in this case. He knew both FIITCN and TCRAET in alias. No safehouses were exposed to LIFING-3. LIMING-3 was met once in TCRAET's GF vehicle.
- 10. Security Risks:

11. Manner of Dismissal: As stated above, no direct dismissal was made, since LIALAG-3 broke off contact with the Station.

12. Letter of Termination Signed: No

113. Cost of Termination: None

14. Station Case Officer: Leonard S. TORGET Communication Acting Signature in Freudony 15. Chief of Station: Horace E. Il and T. Leonard Communication and C

(Signature Pseudonym)

APPROVED:

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WH CONTRACT APPROVING OFFICER

ROVING OFFICER

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201-798301

ATTACHMENT 4/

JAN 6 | 1969

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5 December, 1968

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CCNTACT REPORT

1. Agent: LIRING/3

2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1100, 5/12/68; Identity

3. Next Meeting:

1700, 6/12/68; Iden A

4. Administrative:

Rowton asked LIRING/3 to rent a small apartment that they could use as a safehouse, in lieu of

Iden A, for the future. This was not only in the interest of economy, for for obvious security reasons. Rowton gave LIRING/3 1,500 pesos as an advance for this purpose.

5. Reports/Information Passed by Agent:

LIRIEG/3 reported to Rowton that he had dropped into the LIRING office on 4/12/68 in the hope of running into the LIRING Chief so that he could mention to him casually the proposed trip to PBRUMEN at the end of the month. LIRING/3 told Rowton that he did not see the Chief inasmuch as he was intercepted by LIRING/9. The latter appeared as cordial as on the previous occasion, but this time made a brief reference to LIRING/3's report. He asked: "Are you sure you included everything?" L/3 told Rowton that he replied in a rather puzzled tone, "Of course. Everything, that is, that I could remember. To which L/9 explained: "I mean about the 'motivos' of the arrest. It seems there's more to it than you wrote. We have some interesting data on that subject. We'll discuss it with you on Friday." LIRING/3 then reported to Rowton that when he and LIRING/4 dropped in to on 3/12/68 Identity B the secretary of the Director. Identity C, gave them a message that's person by the name of Humberto Gonzalez Vega, residing at Calle Manzanillo 42, in apartment 8, had visited Iden B several times asking for the address of LIRING/3. LIRING/3 continued to Rowton that he attempted to contact Humberto Gonzalez Vega at the address given on 4/12/68 but was told by a woman of about 35 year's of age with a slight Guatemalan accent that he was out at the time. She took L/3's address with interest and suggested that L/3 return after 1500 the following day in the event Gonzalez did net contact him at his home. I/3 told Rowton that he guessed

and hoped that this was "Favel".

h/watt:1 HMMA-36114

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ATTACHMENT IF /

10 December, 1968

Subject: LIRING/3 Report of Contact with Humberto González Vega.

1. At 1000 on 9/12/68 at Identity A LIRING/3 reported to Rowton that he had met with Humberto González Vega on 5 and 6 December. He related that he had gone back to the apartment on Calle Manzanillo on the afternoon of 5 December, met González and made a date to see him again on the morning of 6 December. When he returned about 1030 on that day González' wife said that he had just stepped out to telephone the embassy of Ecuador. L/3 went out and found González at a nearby telephone booth and managed to have a relatively detailed chat with him.

2. According to L/3, González sarted off by saying that he had been looking forward to meeting L/3 for some time, since he had heard a great deal about him from mutual friends. González went on to say that although he had been away from Guatemala for the past four years, he kept in touch with his friends there. He dropped the names of Sandoval Alegría, Jorge Torrón and a certain Avecillas (phon) who he assumed were known to LIRING/3. He concluded his introductory remarks with the statement that he hoped he and L/3 would become friends, since they could be of mutual help.

3. González added that he was making a living selling books and was planning to open a book store at the University. He indicated that he might be able to help L/3 financially if the latter were interested in this business venture. González then stated that he was aware of L/3's arrest and detention and alleged that he had advance information concerning L/3's trip to Guatemala in the company of Identity D . He then asked L/3 whether he knew the real purpose of Iden D trip. When L/3 replied in a non-committal way, González alleged thatIden Dhad been accused of misappropriation of funds and tookathe trip in the hope of defending himself against these charges, González then produced a typewritten letter, undated and addressed to himself and signed by "Cruz", advising him of the charges againstIden D.González told L/3 that the letter was from FAR headquarters and was received some time beforeIden Dand L/3 left on their trip.

4. González then went on to say that he and his friends were not at all certain thatIden Dhad been executed, as I/3 and many other people assumed. He stated that some months ago Iden D mother in Mexico 'ity had received a letter from him informing her that he was then at Salamá (phon). González added that it was not to be excluded thatIden Dhad made some sort of deal with the authoritie. to save his skin in exchange for services he might perform against Far in the future.

5. Gonzáñez then cautioned L/3 against indiscriminate contacts with persons

representing themselves to be from legitimate "revolutionary" movements. González recounted that he himself had to go into hiding for the previous two months as a result of his having been exposed to a certain Nuñez who had arrived in Mexico City with a group of Guatemalan exiles. González described Muñez as a known memmber of the "Mano Blanca" and a foremer police officer ("tercero jefe de la Judicial").

- 6. González then asked L/3 whether he had made any close friends while in Guatemala. This, L/3 felt, was an attempt to smoke out his relationship with the Barrios brothers ( Miguel and Juán Beón Barrios). He told howton that he evaded the issue by giving a vague reply, to which González replied: "Well, I hope to have a great surprise for you soon ('alegría')" González then suggested that they meet again on 12 December and promised to visit L/3 at his home in the company of his wife, "so that L/3's and his wife could keep each other company while they themselves were talking in L/3's apartment." L/3 told Rowton that he shot this idea down by explaining that although his wife was revolutionary and trustworthy, he preferred to keep any politicial discussions strictly between himself and González. The latter then suggested that he simply drop by L/3's house and that they both proceed somewhere for a coffee on a suitable pretext.
- 7. LIRING/3 described Humberto González Vega as a rather tall man ( about 1.78) heavy (about 85-90 k.), apparent age 42, with light eyes ("ojos claros") and straight ("lacio") black hair. He drew Rowton the attached sketch for possible identification.

8. IIRING/3 agreed with Rowton that it was advisable for him to tell LIRING/9 at his next meeting of his contact with González Vega to provoke a reaction from the LIRING establishment.

Wallace B. Rowton

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Subject: LIRING/3 Report of Contact with LIRING/9 and LIRING/10.

1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at 1300 on 10 December, 1968, that he had

finally succeeded in talking again with LIRING/9. He related that when he went/the LIRING office as requested at about 1030 on 9/12/68 he was told by the receptionist that LIRING/9 was still out. L/3 was asked to telephone later, about 1300, to check whether L/9 had returned. LIRING/3 telephoned, as requested, a little after 1300 (in Rowton's presence) but was told that LIRING/9 had not returned. L/3 left a message for L/9 that he would come to his office again the following morning.

2. LIRING/3 continued that he reappeared at the LIRING officeabout the same time the next day (10/12/68) and was told this time by the receptionist (the wife of LIRING/10's assistant) that LIRING/9 was in. At this moment LIRING/9 himself emerged from his office with papers in his hand, winked at LIRING/3 and returned without addressing him. A few minutes later L/3 was told by the receptionist that L/9 would see him. The following is Rowton's reconstruction of the conversation that took place between LIRING/3 and LIRING/9, based on L/3's report to Rowton:

- L/9: "Come in. I'm sorry I couldn't see you Friday or yesterday. I was out of town."
- L/3: "It's alright with me, except that I have a number of things pending as far as my own plans are concerned."
- 1/9: "Well, how are you doing?"
- L/3: "Fairly well. I just received a letter from my good friend, Prof. Carlo Antonio Castro of the University of Veracruz. He has been insisting that I go down to Jalapa to see him. He wants to organize an exposition and also to offer me an interesting position at the University."
- L/9: "But would that mean that you would have to stay in Jalapa?"
- L/3: "Yes, of course; that is, if I accept. It's a tempting solution to my personal problems. As I told you I'm still "up in the air".
- L/9: "But I don't think that's the solution. A trip would be much better."
- I/3: "Yes, but I have to make a decision soon. Also my wife received a letter from her father inviting her to New York. Here's the letter. Do you want to read it?"
- L/9: "No. What does it say?"
- I/3: "Her father says that he can give her medical certificates to prove he is very sick so that she can get a visa without any

difficulty."

L/9: "But as I said before, she shouldn't go to the American Embassy. Keep her away from it. That would be bad, as I explained last

"I'm doing my best, but it's not easy. Things are still up xx in the air with us."

(At about this moment in the conversation, LIRING/10 entered the office, and, after greeting LIRING/9 rather perfunctorily, carried on the following conversation with LIRING/3:)

L/10: "How have you been?"

"Dather well, blanks?" T/3:

L/10: "And your wife? Is she recovering from the strain?"

"Just about. The nightmare is finally over and she feels better L/3: now."

L/10: "#Ell I hope you'll come by here often - as often as you mike. We enjoy chatting with you."

(After this brief exchange, LIRING/10 left the office.)

"By the way, how is your Chief doing? I'd like to arop in to L/3: -000 express my appreciation for the interest he warmer and his wife showed in helping my wife during my absence."

L/9:. "Well, he's not doing too well."

"Ch, another thing. I finally met that Guatemalan 'Pavel' I L/3: mentioned in my report."

L/9: "Yes, how did it go?"

"His name is Humberto González Vega. He's been in Mexico for some time. A former activist in the PTG. You must know him."

L/9: "Yes.

L/3: "He wants to see me again on Thursday for a more detailed talk."

L/9: "Fine. well, I hope you keep coming around to see us whenever you can. "

3. LIRING/3 commented to Rowton that he felt that LIRING/10's intrusion tad not been coincidental, and that L/9 had advised him of L/3's arrival before he himself received L/3 into his office.

.000

Wallace B. Rowton

ATTACHNENT #1 HMMA-36114

12 Lacember, 1968

Subject: LINING/3 Ecceipt of Latter from Gustavo Colindres.

1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at 1700 on 12/12/68 that he had received a letter from Gustavo Colindres, a Guatemalar of about 40 years d age = whom he had met in the Pavón prison in Guatemala City. LIRING/3 stated that Colindres is the uncle (mother's side) of the León Barrios prothers, although he does not have the same name of sra. Barrios. L/3 explained that they were born of different fathers. L/3 added that Colindres was imprisoned some 18 months ago for responsibility in an arms cache discovered in or near his home.

2. The following is Rowton's translation of the original letter which LIBING/3 gave Rowton for copying:

"I hope that when you arrived in your Mexico, you found only peace and satisfaction in being once again in the warmth of your home. Here on the farm we have missed you and felt badky at not hearing from the artist and the professor, and now that I have succeeded in obtaining your address, I am taking the liberty of dropping your a few lines. I want you both to keep abreast of what's going on at the old farm, even though we're still struggling to turn it over to new owners, but they haven't as yet agreed to the price. I guess I'll be the last to leave the ship, since I haven't a chance to get off. The lions are the next to leave their cage. 'Lorenzana' left a month ago and the Queen left on the 2nd of December. Promise me that when you take a drink you'll toast the farm and the date that is approaching.

My best to your wife, kisses to your child and my best wishes for your welfare. May this year of strange experiences engrave in your mind the memory of a friend.

Guat. 7/12/68

## /s/ G.Colindres

Please send your correspondence to me in the name of my wife, Isabel
Bonis de Colindres, 5 av. y 7a Calle, lote 6-Manzana 26, Colonia Santa
Marta, Zona 19, Guat. Cuidad, América Central.

3. LIRING/3 told Rowton he understood the "lions are next to leave their
cage" to mean that the León Barrios brothers are soon to be released and
that this letter is a signal to him to be on the alert for a contact from
them in the near future. I/3 told Rowton that he intended to reply to this

letter at once, and to take the occasion to mention casually that he has met a Guatemalan in Mexico City by the name of Humberto Gorzález Vega who seems to know everyone there quite well. 1/3 hopes that this will provoke some sort of comment from the León Barrios brothers wither directly or indirectly.

4. LIRING/3 stated that Gustavo Colindres, who is still in the Pavón prison, obviously snuggled out this letter through his wife who visits him regularly. L/3 commented that Colindres told him that he isa faithful FAR member, but refused to belong to the PTG, or even to accept the financial aid doled out at the Favón prison by Francisco Corado, the PTG representative there.

Vallace B. Rowton

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SECRET

Separate Cover Attachment #3 HMMA-36114

Identity Sheet

JAN 6 1959

DOC MICRO SER

Identity B:

Identity C:

Identity D:

(201-832H57)

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201-798301

ATTACHMENT #2 HMA-36114

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L. barrad .d

201-798301

Chitmairen General: Durante los durs que persumeer en la Celda 400 del 2º Courpe de policia Tomé oportramadad de Cambrier un prenieres con Rolando Ontra "Cebolli-Tat nobre la cituación general de Guatemala es pléalinente de FIR, par aquel entonces Clarbinontes No latia sido destituido y se miciala nema Cara-para de Terrible represson por parte del gabierno, de acuado con las infranciaciones se desprende le Cignente: la division entre PGTM FAR proviés una crituaison dificil pero algoriso muien. for dil PET remuciaron a litt of parason a las files de FAR, amque Beoricamente el PGT dies apayer la lucha asmada l méliero étile d'sponer de Contingentes en la montona (gina de Garapa?) la cierto es que provida mas la division y no apoya en lo mas prissimo la linea de FAR esto es a grandes Mugis 194 que la détalles bon bren Conscides. En les allimos Liempos el PGT mata de abonda. man las deriegentian. Carno effensplo day la princesor que presincié en Pavoir, donde il representante del PGT Trataba de garas adentes entre las polas pertenecientes a FAR

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in gratimala es una marjos comprenserio al la situación interna de les pais, y prestor por le Consignente la aspida mais adecuada. Es visited que el to fortalécements de 2174 liche per a la ge plaze, pine par ella 2174 liche per a la ayuda sea mas efectiva 21 chilista, de acuerdo con las opiniones de 21 realista, de acuerdo con las opiniones de Ya premares de fein Bamos, ellementos Thenes pino entersiastas y valicos, attentil Hit de service de milli genire, do aborteaministos og Tings que seguir Inabajando Africation-Con las FAR, la especial situación de Arrifice, unis experiencias personales of la Confrança que ellos me depont an lean Suile que mantenga mis Contacto, esperrando por estos dias la llegada de una pinera muy responsable que me busca-pa con el membre de PAVEL, para seguin Inchajance en un sentido pontivo.

Lind 18 de dipil de 1998 Francisco Galle. antecedentes En Mereyico of por Condente de Carlo Persabal Anarcia, establica Contacto con F. a. S. Barriso quaternattico quen segun se me informo, era paganda en esta cindad. Lava Barros Tema nécessad de liaces us viajo a guatemala, peso necendad de kiaces un vrage a quatemala, per escada par estada político no podra dada an estrucción de exilado político no podra dada an estada paro en fidio aquala, ya que de metros se me pidio aquala, ya que por escribilità por Tener Conscieniento de la región forma del país y además un pequeno ne focio en del país y además un pequeno ne focio estada estaba estaba establicido en para Cintobal las Casas estaba establicido en para Cintobal las Casas estaba establicido en para Cintobal das fara Barrio hosta en forbilidad de Chiada de Chiada de Constanala. a Traves de mana platacus Ternidas Can el, se llego à la Canclusion de que polnamon ademas de realizar dicho vige, haller alymos moriments que Tuverin per finalidad poestas una arqueda efecJui intencis que se eleboso em p'in, Cuya rechi Cavian quidas à Cripita à la aprobación de ellmin. Jes discours la Guitemala. Inicialmente este plan Consistra en el establicamente de un meque de impresenes en Honduras; es decir Vetidens las portulidades en ese pars paré. Orientes una pequena maquina de of sett page editar un Telegura que produra servir Medernier Para Barrio Tema Construmen. The de leste Tupo de negocio, ya que seguir me infirmo, habis Trat mado antis en of varia Companias de publicidad. milino principal de esto era el de colabovar para alitener, por esos medies ayuda financiera para las FAR. Con esa inten-Com y desde antes, yo habra montado en In Non Cristabal de las Casas, Chrapas, mi ne foi de mignesiones pengrificus con la rigon Dotul de MEMANDEL di Dan Cristabal Pasa réalizate el viage se plusa. van en vana de las posibilidades mas Degmes. La mejot, dade la cegunidail Que proposcionaba, la Conse quen

documentation Muxicana para face it Para el efecto elabore, con la manjor perfeccion porble una Credencial de maestro de la SEP, Ja più am documento de este topo es suficiente para abitinis orrado en la fonitera. En les villemes de contres de realism decho maje of of Temendo Toko propanocho, dans Mamoral informó que Carlos Perzabal M. On Diposa, Teresa Posada quenan acom paramos pues Jeman motoros Attendentes pasair. Como la situación que esto plan. Teaba era dificil me opuse al vraje de Islas personas, pero Jara Barrios des jumes. 76 que Terrien neclesidadelle de entrenistar Con motros periodistiens à algunas perso. malidades en quatemala. Sas discussiones al despecto de prolongam vario din pues no en l'anveniente miclar des tipos de Tralajo en mi viaje que de por si Tema sus mes gos, por en m Entoncis ansqueron vario inconvenientes quel m que sa retrasante diche vraje, une de elle fue que fara Barrio - Helles Comen em el en carjado de la minon se luni accidentalmente la mema con & una pistola calibre 25 al leaces

prog prietrea de to, y otro que por esta Canoa brubs nigeridad de plopones la ralida y busens promedio mas adtenado, por lo que be ollumo prom porte a Consequir que una persona de Centrarya mollivara en antonovil Maria dicha perena fue Raid vivotero quian se presto: jara liacierto, fos detalles pobre Todo esto sen variados y obvian en este enfreme, pero hay que haces notas que limbo muchos merdentes of errores por juste de Todos los que ibans os à partacipai in les unición. El 10 de abril de 1968 Dalines de la Condad de mético, Tes adalberts fara Bamos, Paul Mostro, Carlos Perzabal of affer min persidos, pues la sevora Teresa fosada desis tie del naje debido a que estaba embarazada of al Counders piligness para ella. Winante el Tragecte y a la allura te Matigo Romero Oajaca, delido a la alta velacidad a que Condercia Unorlas Il autoricovil, sufraires vin aparatoso aca dente que dejo senamente danado el automoral al llegas a Tantola Raul resoreus leabli per Telefonono con se

formh à poist réferences del acerdente of Ono dige que le pédien volurera pries ou padre Lichen omfridam mifatte Condiaco - Us Todos Ninsko mos llera lecarta Dan Constabil, deske donde mosators Continuariames el vrage Carlos Pez dal llevala Consigo mas pullo-Carinis de 8TAR un prenas en la un prenta del De Amarinet Marcui Pardinas, las que l'abia roultado entre las paginos de unas mentre de modas, pero denn modo Tan visible que no Cremo oponimiento las ellevara. Al llegar a las attention de Cendad Curlinternoc en me Toxi de alqueles priceanns a dicumentains pasael paso quaternala. La Credential que se el aboró por fina Bamos finaciono perfectamente. og le fue dade son permiso para vinger en lugar Epraismala valite par Tres mises. En ese lugar of dade que no liabramos Terricio deficulta l' algung para no entospeces muestro mormon. To, Tanto Lara Bamo Cemo you le peternos a Penabal que no ellevasa las revistas, a lo que accidio depositandolas la neva l'anacq Errea de la frontera usada Conso letrura. El paso se lingo sin deficulta d'apa

minte salo que fan Bamo Alba chlluer principa del Cencul de graiserala, Trami te remal para Todos las Turistas. El Consulado de Canadamela que debena funcionar en Camitan o Code de Ciralruternoc, se discribition pos extoran as ornores en la merilla dento del Timtono Gratimalico. Lara Barrio ce prosomo Tanto neviso Ouando acridino al Consul para il pismo, monso que este extendió Bin defricultad. No abstante pensamos que el niversione de Jana Barris le provots alfing Or petha misma que la tima la lichar Ornil Chafter dil Torte gover predo Le aberro Lado que despues confirmantos pues et La halus onde deltricker) nor motoraron servidos fas renistas dande Pergalal trabia secondido las publicationes de FAR, of que volo pudem lisher vido obtenidas por de Censul apriza
proporcionadas por de Chafer del Taxi que No llevo, mans de Constant of que esté durante et Trapecto Mes liable de su amentail con el Consul J Réprésendaile de pur la das Cuenta de Iqui als norpechoros dejo per da lu la bancea.

En la mesilla, despuis de pasar la adecuna dende se mos luis una reinsion superficiel y don-de estimo presente el Concul, abordames inna l'amienita de pasoperos rumbo a Huiliactan Go pero al er en letta mos dimos cuenta que Este seno mos rebasó en su automorel. Al Meson a la Grantie de mis pieces un el Companier o El CABLE" frien quintime de la bornadicationes de diche consul quien ordens pormadicationes de diche consul quien ordens al eficial mos percennineara. Centes de lingas de la Carrièreta y al darrière conta De que habra problema, fara Barrio mi lentrezo rena devil de documento que illevaba ( ranges Te autentice, Cédula de vecudad ete) mismo que por fortuna pudrino Alsapamicro antes del registro que el oficial Niero
recer antes del registro que el oficial Niero
machici demines, echandolos por entre las
lundedinas de la banaca formason.

Cada a donde mos encerrason. Pos desgracia al practicassenos menel segistas, a Carlos Perzabal le fueron. enCentradas un par de botas soviéticas, una entreuesta inchnelusa Con mestor Ville, and Camet de la Universidad de la Habanagatro decumento. a partis

di il moment queland q a oppieren del execto supensulo que seriamos asecuados. Red Campanento el Cable " finne o Inalakado per la policia militàre Combinlante a ctro Campaminto en el pallado de Briens aires Un il llépto. de Huchene-Tenango. El Toursporte se lings en un Camera de Carga que nos llevé primero a Handwettenande donde Perzabal fue brevenente interrozado por un Comande quien no dije que seranis fusilados. Chi el poblado de Buenos aires friendo riterrigades of maltritades durante Toda la moche, la unterrogatoria fuesan pelled por reparado. al did orquente. Junis Tousladados a quatemda en un avon de las FAG # 540, queen fue enviado por el ministro de la Mifama, miemo que mo recibro en el'acreomiente mulitar la moche del dia 14. Todaria dento del array aga Luill Campo, Ambro a bordo de écle um

motomer care con unto me militas de manera violenta si je me llamaba Oil aireaments contitat frimos Trasladades at nº Culopo de la policia (Persobales 90 en ma Carmonete, fara en my gelp) don. de Juins incommicales en las bartalimas de la celda 11º "400." Unsante vanas noches primes sometides at the Esty interrogatorios! Chireres drance, a fune-mis ilancos a mer frantela poercupation que Teman. En la celda 400, estaban mesos algunos mulmibros de las FAR, In hermanos de Leon Barnos (priam pro No hermanos de Leon Barnos (priam pro Momente las Como el Conocido por a ciballita, açusado del atentado a la base mili-Tas de "la Capacalci" y membro destacado de las FAR. a estos companeros Java Bamos informe con détaille de la que mos frabia Puccedido. El dia 20 de abril pudino el enna clandestanamente a la prolessa ima mota escrita en uma Caja vacia de Ciganos que publica

il Ciano "El Grafico" el dia 21 de abril. Postellandine framo visitado por el Consul de México al Mia signiente, lnotando asill primes intento de asesinato Centra mosotor. Para Barnis para interices liabra side riderit ficade ya Como Qualemaltecio. al la cese publica meest galetien our Vas autordades Gratamaltecas simientason nin délité réparier la Cridad y finnes Consignados per esto a un pregado para Dis Augetos a un pricio Eg 26 de abril frams Trasladades al Campo de Cericentralien 4 Granja Pond Paron en prina Cuerda bonde Tambien ila el " celistita" of posiblemente fara Barrios a quela défamés de nes el des que funis consignados y Trasladados a la Crupa general. En et Cammo a Povon desapareces celeblita a Genen Algun et parte paliciaco, "secreistra. fon sus companeros pero que fue

isenuals por la policia. Ele la Granja Penal Peron Illigani de en Companiel de las licensenas de Jean Bamos Comment freson mustin Companiera desante formeres que alle permanetano y dende fridi Con cas mas q fondo la realidad de Chiateinala i postableces Contactos para Degnin Trabajando postenosmente Ulmante isos misis (Casi 7) time inna Strecky Commiscicion Con estos do mucha-Cho, quients per ans Condiciences, pridicion explicame la rerdadera ntuación de Les FAR en rélacion Con la situación geneas néclians hacis notas que en ese ral del pais Timpo estaban réclardos alli quincienos del FGT esperando la sententia de lis Tombrigales. El réprésentante del grupo, 7 co Corado, era quien administrata los Jondos que recibia para repartur entre los présos políticos, fondos de los cualos no aporto minea mada a mingun premba de las FAR. Cuando mosotros liegamos Trato de acimilano, per Enando ejo le

And vens de "Trotykista" alugation que la come me la come me la come de come de la come de come de la come de come de come de come de la come de come de la come de come de la come de la come de come de la come puserosa espisa Teresa Sosada. Por ou parte las FAR lucreson le mismo Ceristatande que nos me pestanecia a annoma Oprapo of Teammando así Con uma ateración mélesta que ce habin generado. Camidida que par el Tiens fun Vialnende amenstad personal Con est. muchallio Japais entonces no leabour pédide, para envire a la dirección de FAR reministance a cada rens de acrotres de la Contro llerteron a quatemala. De manera franca y abilità quien delir que Carlos Perzabal (quen en muellas Existention Ce pois bren) en este casos oculté la merdades motives de mos-Ina letención. Por fortiena ej qualicis dera Barro Elle de personalmente por Conduite del 1 Cebollita of las

Elimens de Leon, detont de Como Cian. me ne obligade a menciana esto, ja que dissente del Tecomps que esteronico Luciorcelación, la tamina Ba. Teresa Porada nj la Almera mama de Renzafal aci Conse el m. mamel mascué Dan linas mipagason falses informis la Caritora de mispagason falses informis la Caritora de mi esposa, laculidala aparecer como " delatora" agentie de la Cia, etc. etc. infleridos (regnerar vente para ocultas respon. patilidades of portlemes de indole pessonal que minen deliceson mezclas. Per la que a coto respecta & estay du priesto a distindar responsabilidades frente. à elle, oi es que nusisten en esa proicion.

Imprésientes lin « CEBOLLITA "

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fulta de Con desser atribue de por las FARA Enta en la mablemas nuteros Ai Gretibrala; midilido sevo de la fonda miporcienades, etc. Contrea a los en eds limitedes in da Haliana; Grenenes al regolons mo de satégation à la réalidad. de lan Milindadis di las FAR. Ditnaissen aiteal de FAR. anagna, laita di offangarion, debretamiento, illementos porcerio. Con contrissicióno per sin formación i de eloquer correcta J medis materiales. Un professional de FAR "percibe un primede de 940.00 al mes para on tralago. Fattalicumento del Gobierio, expansioni dil agricite Con la arpida de USA. . Wil-Citamentos de las Grumlla de Cristadad (minillas dirbanas) que motiva a una repression Cada veg mas filiste y Contraproducente.

Mestor Velle, Efigenio, Chellita el Mestor Velle, Efigenio, Cabellita el Bareo, ete dibidas a fatta de os gangs-Ción de medio no al firtaliammento de Un ficação represions.

\* Macinalismo spratamattero que rection
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Entercier Gereral: Munite les dies que perseiner en la Celda 400 del 1º Crespo de policia Trong opertropad de Combiner Len polarieres Con Rolando Ontag " Cebolli -Tat nebolda Cituación general de Guatemada lo pleilinette de FIR. per aquel listonées Cesarbisontes no lidra Ordo destatundo y se rineraba rima Carin-porta de Terrible repression por parte del gabrerão. le Organente: la division sentre PGTM. FAR proviés rina cituairen dificil pero algibres primen. les del PGT rémuciaron à este à pasason a las filas de FAR, amque Teoricamente el PGT de la apayar la finche asmada l méliere mille desponer de Contingentes en la montana (grad de garapa?) le lierte en la run montana (grad de garapa?) le lierte en la run provica mas la division y mo apoya en la run prissimo la linea de FAR, esto es a grandes Magis Ma que la détalles bon bren conscribés. En limin Tiempos el PGT metallationed.
Water Trata de abondar mare las dende gention. Com: exemple. dry la primerer que presencie en Pavoir, donde al réprésentante del PGT Trataba de ganas oughto extre la polar pertenecienta a FAR

Ofilère dolle anadá l'Consinue a l'insistrendo en ale De linea ("Ki det AR) dea l'quivoca len one eles repectios. Cel sir mombrado Man Dosa Coman Pante General de la perala que el propo 13 de moriembre de agla Timara. En esta Cin tiona esta capatrination sellevà a calo, pero de la practica de la démostrado que este Grupo crique actuando por an eventa anaiamcamente. Todas estas Concumitações, divisiones, falta la organización de pala de madrirez nde olo grit ett. han Traido par Conscenencia un débilitamente de la luche armada un quatimala. a lette contribung el fortale-Constito Cada des accompt de las fices as reprecisio abra de la mosteamentano. Un isporte e grupado Con las asimas mas moderon as a ases orado of entrenado por ellos, Con-trala lada ou mas la contración la la trala lada ou mas la contración la montaina. La Consiencia de Todo esto lis si de la richementication de la querrelle Unbana. Les proinis de FAR lian Tenido que bajos a la Cindad y hacen lifuerzo discoplacides per amirquiers prom

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miso. Con la conordana se lian sufado minerio

miso. Con la conordana se lian sufado minerio Till muy grandes, la muerie de Mester Valle, Efigenie, Sa di Carrilo en la Cindad etc. lean dibilitade ann unas las acciones de TAR, puca Par especiales Encrustancias que ling de pustituées de estos cuadros. La fatta de Jondos para financiamiento es uno de los moblemens mas Grandes, puès actualmente Moblemens Tiene que Conseguese a brase de asaltes a Imprecas comercieles, dands por resultado muchas alles, que por conseguir. puna Dientidad plefulna lum minesto varior En mis charles con les brennancis de Messelutisnavio. Len Barrio Re me lino notat el sente do negativo que algunos dopretos de la arqueda Enbann réprésenta. De Critico dinamente a les enderes que se formation alla, pries sefrindelen, en la ville a refle, lingre estanchio en buba se madaptaban

or li vialidad anatemalteen er munde a on multa Careflictos a neces serio. El Esemplo mas coniseto es el recente caso de Cesar montos, destritundo pos me huberse milosporado a Ou realidad de al momente rellésaris. Con Opr Tamala existe un frette malionalis. mis; por este la goueres de FAR rechique Osisto Tape de ayuda pricidente de Chiba; a liable mindre ula entre elles de fraçases Alterido prolos Ciadros formados alla J Will At the all in Oupristo of reconstruction To Entrano de aigndarlos milliso con lismbols. Por alira, liablando francamente, la lucha la Guaternala de la délastitado. fis golpes pupides han vide muchos of fuertes of the extremin review in ma reorinanza-RELEASE MARKET SINGER STANDER STANDER MANARAMAN Vinc de la coma aspecto mais nécesario para el desarrollo de la luclia asmada

in quetimale es una mayor comprensión de l'il mitance de les pais, y préstour per la Consigneette la arguda mais adeluade. Es mindade qui el la fortale enmente de entalista pera a la go plazo, pero para ello. entalista pera a la ayuda per mas efectiva es michano que la ayuda per mas efectiva y realista, de acuerdo Con las opiniones de Vos presencios de Hon Barros, ellementos Milenio prot intensiastas in validos, attitudelle for the state of the total the total tot ys Tings que seguir tralagando Mittelle En las FAR, la especial situacion de Arréfico, unis expériencias personales of la Conjunga aprè ellos me deposit an han lucke que mantenga min contacto, esper rando por estos dias la llegada de una pérona mui responsable que me busca-pa con el nombre de PAVEL, para seguin Tratajancio en un sentido pontivo.

Barris (Sprate halters + Francisco Gallett antecedentes En Verly 60 of for Conducto de Cala Persabel Anarene, istable a Contacto con F. a. S. Barris maternetteco quen segun se me informo era maternetteco quen segun se me angado de la propaganda en esta cindad. Lava Barros Tema nécesidad de liaces un viaje a quatemala, peso ada on ortunción de exilado político no podia waar mar el pais en forma legale of por ese abandonar el pais en forma legale of por ese abandonar el pais en pidio apuda, ya que prosente por Tener Conocimiento de la region mis del pais jademas un pequeno mesocio Establecido en Dan Unitabal las Casas estaba lu pontrilidad de llivar a fara Barrio hosta Cintraries de variar plataças Terridas la Cindad de quatemala Can el pe llego à la Conclusion de que polnamos ademas de realizar dicho migo haltr alymos movimentos que Inveran por finalidad poestas mia aspeda elfelJui intencés que se élabors un p m, cuya réali-paisem quidan à aujeta à la aprodución de ellmen-Jes desetwords en épiatemala. Inicialmente esto plan Consistra en el establicamento de un me-Opér de impresenes on Honduns; es décir Istadios las pontulidades en esé paro paré. Crientes rura pequena maquim de offsett profi elitar un Telegura que prediera Dervie en otro puses Centramericanos inclusive Opentamila Lasa Barries Terris Construmen. To de site Tipo de negocio, ja que cogimi me responso, brabis Tradagado ante en varior Companias de publicidad. El motoro principal de esto era el de colabovar para olitener, por esos medicos, anjuda financiera para las FAR. Con esa inten-Crim y desde antes, no liabra montale as In Non Cristabal de las Casas, Chiapas, pri me (o cio osistables de un presiones pengrificas con la rigon Dotent de A EMARDEL de Dan Cristabal Para realizat el viage se plusa prom en varia de las posibilidades más Delpriss. La mejot, dade la argundad Que propocionaba, la Conse que

décimentaism Muticana par faire. Par el efecto elabore, con la mayor profession possible une Credencial de maiestro de la SEP, Ja que em document de este tipo es ouficiente para abiliner made en la fontera. En les villemes deux centres de realizar deche maje og ga Temendo Todo preparacho, dans Barros une informo que Carlos Perzebal of De papiera Teresa Posada quenan acam paramoppues Teman moder the temans pasais. Como la crituacion que esto plan. Teaba era dificil me opuse al vraje de Octa personas, pero Jara Barrio des pumers. To aux Terrien neclesidadité de entrevister Con motros periodisties à algunes perso. nalidades en quaternala. Sas discursiones al respecto se prolongas nasos dias pues no en Conveniente myclar des tipos de Traliqos en un viaje que de por si Tema sus ries yos; pos en un viaje que de por si Tema sus ries yos; pos entonces angieron vario suconvenientes que m que metrasante diche viaje, une de elle fue que fara Barrio - Halles Opinen era el en carjado de la numon se luno accidentalmente la prema con Ama pistola calibre 25 al leaces

esta Causa prina prietrea de mo, of otro que p pur medio mas billuado, fin la que tol allume parm parte a Consequir que una persona de Cerfringa no llevara en antonovil Mason aiche persena fue Rand Motero quan as presto fan Maierlo., For altalles Dabre Todo esto som variados of obvian en este enfreme, pero hay que l'acès notas que limbo muelos receidentes partie de Todos los que il ans os pertaciper en les amision. El 10 de abril de 1968 valuis de la. Cintad de méxico, Tes adallierto fara Bamos, Mail Morrisono, Carlos Perzabal y affer un persidos, pues la sevora Teresa, fitsada desis tro del naje debido a que estaba embarazada of al Counders piligroso para ella. Umante el Tragecto es a la allura de Matiga Romero Oajaca, debido a la alta velocidad a que Condisera Morens Il autoriovil, sufrino un aparatire aca derte que dejo seramente danado el automorel. Al llegas a Tartle Raul Messeus liabli por Tellefanono con su

forme a post a frances del ac deste of Carding que le pédien volunira pries ou padre fillen onifoido un refinte condiaco. Les Todos resto no ller leaste Dan Cristolial, deste dende mostro Continuaramos el vraje Carlos Pendal llevala Consigo unas publi-Carinis de 8TAR rimpresas en la unipresita del Dr. Manniel Marcui Pardinas, las que lichia reultado entre las paginos de unas revistas de modas, pero denn modo Tan visible que no Esternos o portuniques de las titudad de las tituda Cindad Curlinternoè en me Taxi de alqueles procedimo a dicumentamos pasa el paso quaternala. La Credencial que se el aboro partenala. Damos finaciono perfectamente le fue d'ado un permiso para virgos en lugas for Tres meses. En ese lugas malinda valite por Tres meses. of dade que en leabramos Terrido deficultal alginay para no entospeces miestro momen. To, Tanto Lara Bamo Como youle peternios a Pinabal que no ellevara las revistas, a le que accidio de positandolas en nun l'anacq Orca de la frontira mada Como letrina. El paso se luizo sin deficulta d'apasinte salo que las Bamo d'in ableter. to conal para Todos la Trenstas. El Consulado de Gratienala que dibena funcionar en Comitan o Colad. Cualiternoc, se encuentra pos extoran as romeres en la merella, dento del Timtono quaternalteco. Lara Barrio se priso mo Tanto neviso Ouando acidimi o al Consul para il pismo, mons que este extendes Bin deficultad. No abstante pensamos que el nemiorimo de Jana Barrio la provoto alfini Ospitha misma qui le los fi hables Con il Clasfied Houte finen perdo le ables Lada for las aniondades quaternal teens ( cospecies de halus onde delinides) mos mostraron Yas renistas dande Rizalal habre seridido las publicariones de FAR, of que vols pudieson lible vido obtenidas por el consul quiza proporcionalas per il Chafer del Taxi que No llevo, of free Tomano en Comitain, Ma que este durante el Trupecto Mos liable de su amistad con el consul pregnamente al pur la das cuenta de Iqui "also" porpechoso de gé per abal en la banala.

En la mesile, después de pasa. La aduana donde se mo luce una rensien superficielly don-de estres présente el Cénsul, abordamos inna Camienta de parageros numbo a Hudruetena. Go pero alir en esta mos dimos cuenta que iste sero mos rebaco en su automont. Al llegas a la Ganta de un piecen en el l'imparanto El CABLE" frim quentemidente. por undicaziones de dicho consul quien ordeno al chient mos miennimilara. Centes de Linges de lig Carrièret, pol darus cuenta de que liabra problema, Jara Barrio me lentrégé rena déne de documentes que illevala ( rangente autentice, cedula de mecudad ete mismo que por fortuna pudimo desapamanie que promina puesmo altrapa récé antes del régistro que el oficial Misso matrice dimines, ediandolos por entre las lindedinas di la banaca formanon. Cada ofte donde mos encercason. Pro despació al practicios senos mul registro, à Cirlo Perpatal de finison encentradas un par de botas someticas, una entreusta inchnelusa Commestor Valle, in franct de la Mintersidad de la Habanagotro decumento. a pati

de le menen. quelans que sprienn del Went Campainento el Cable " denni o Tradakados per la polició mililas Cumbinlante a etro Campaminto en el poblado de Brens aves en il llépto. Le Hueline. Timanço. El Toursporte se lingo en un Camera de Carga que moller primers a Handwettenande donde Perzabal fue brevenense interrigade por som Coronel amen nos dijs que seriamos fusilados. Chi el poblako de Buenos aires pinnos raterrigales of maltritades durante Toda la moche, los unterrogatoros fueson pielo por separado. al dia orgenerale. frumes Tousladades a gratemela en vin avron de las FAG # 540, queen tue envices pos el ministro de la Wifima, mismo que mis recibro en el aeréopriente militar la moche del dia 14. Todaria destro del arron, aga Luill Campo, Ombro a bordo de este un.

Moternence o can unifi me militas Mittillifffffly queen me pregnento Ol manera violenta ai jo me llamaba C'ficenio. Oll obserpents militar frimos Trasladades al nº Cuespo de la policia (Persobales Jo en rina Camisoneta, fara en un gelp) don. de Jumos incomunicados en las hartolinas de la celda "400: Cusante vanis models from sometides a the Elly interrogatorio. Chierres d'anico, a quienis ibarres a mer fran Ela prercupation que Teman. En la Celda 400 estaban preses alguns mentres de las FAR, In hermanos de Leon Barros (pran Jus. of mignel, un como et consciles por a cibollita", La curado del atentado a la base mili-Tas de "la Ciprécalci" y membre distacale de las FAR. a estos companeros Java Bamos informo con détalle de la que mos fratia succedide. El dia 20 de abril proteins emias claudestamanente a la probusa una nota escrita en una cablico

el diano "El Carafico" el dia 11 de abril. Por elle motivo framos mentados por el Consul de México al clia signente, lnotando asiel primes intento de asasina. to Centra mosotros. Lasa Barnos pasa intericia liabra sida identificado y a Como qualematteco. al liacese publica meestig détendin las autoridades qualimalteras simentason in delite repartir mopaganda subverivalu las Calles de la Cricade j finns Consignades par éto a un prégado para Dés conjetos a run pricio: Et 26 de abril frams Trasladades al Campo de Concentración " Como Rende Paris: " lu 12:14 Cuerda donde lambian ila el "celestita" of posiblemente fara, Barris a queen défamés de mes el din que furmis Consignades y Trasladades å la Cruja general. En el Camino a Paron desapurecció " Cebillita" a Gusen olgen et parte policiaco, "secrestia. von sus companeros pero que fue

asenuals por a policia. Elika Granja Penal Paran Elizania en Companie Ce la lelamances de Jean Barris quines frieron miestros Companieros durante les meses que all' permaneluns y donde hude Conoces mas, g fondo la real dad de midemalar postablecer Contactor para Dequis Trabajando postenomente Ulmante esos miser (Casi 7) time uma Jordelia Commicación Con estos do mucha-Ohos, quienes pos ono Condiciones, midilion explicame la verdadera ntuación de Las FAR en relacion Con la situación general del pais as nécesare haçis notas que en exe Timpolitaban reclindos alli 9 miembros del PGT esperando la sentencia de las Imbinales. El representante del Grupo, Feo Corado, era quien administrata los Jondos que recibia para repartir entre Los presos políticos, fondos de los cuales no aposto miner mada a mingun premiso de las FAR. Cuando mosotros liegamesa Trato de asimlamos, pero Enande de le

Cije que are per ne lia a anno in fatado Met ains de "Troto, kista" alusabreis que membrades motive per parte de l'eszaballé me discusa prisencia espisa Terisa Sosada. Por ou parte las FAR lucrison la miemo Cantalando que no mo pestanecia a nongon apropo of lesminando aci Con una situación molesta que se habia Generado. a midida que personal Con estes Iracrente ameritad personal Con estes muchallie fing entonces no habran pédido, para liminas a la dirección de FAR. ministre a Cada une de assotros de las Constitos lles Eron a Justemala. Ce manera franca y alibra quiero delir que Carles Perzabal (quen en muchas Encuretantement de pois bren) la cité cason élulté le misdades en obres de muss-Ina detendion. Por fortuna of gracias Jana Barro att and peronalmente pir Conducto del "Cebollita" of las

l'amens de leon, letorifa l'Eniocian. mane obligade a mencioner este, ja qui diniente el Tuemps que estimino Lucarcelados, la fina Bra. Teresa Posada nj la cenera mama de Penzafal au Conso el m. mamiel mastice Dar kinas, pripagason falsos informis la Carita de ma espesa fracultada aparteer como " delatora" aquite de la Cia, etc. etc. inilicina regnoamente para ocultar respon. patilidades of por problemas de indolo pesenal que minea deliceson mezelas. Asi Missionie Cinero degas bien Claso que per la que a desto respecta E estar dis priesto a distindar responsatueidades frente. à ello, or es que rissoten en est posicion.

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fulta de Comprensione atribu de parkas FAR à l'éla en les problèmes sutemes al Gratebrala Fridebide 1 is de la fondes miportienados, etc. entrea a los encos finicias luda Halana; quienes al regresas no ce untegaban a la realidad de las Milindadis de las FAR. Bitmainen actual de FAR. anaigner, latta de organización, delalitamilito, Elementos porenos con contrisiono Jen sin formación illologia correcta medis materiales un'profesional de FAR "percibe un primedio deq 40.00 al mes par outalians tataliemento del Gobierio, expansion dil Cignoste Con la arquida de USA. . Willa Citamientos de las Grimlla ell mentana que alligan al Toulogo en la Crisdad (fremillas disbanas) que moliva a ring represion Cade veg mas freste y Contrapoducentt.

Risdada de madrios vale são Mistor Valle, Efigenie, "Cevellita" el Bareo, 2Te. Albidas a latta de os ganga-Even de media ni al firtalienmenta de els ficesos represions. \* Macionalismo spratamatica que rechezpoècen helion pub efficientes, eller sir entre -den per ese macionalismo, que esté tapo al inspida es mecessaria a veces para el desanollo de la Per. l'atino amencana, Orthaceron, que no de plantad en mi caso gralia, a la Cemprensión de la mentalidad quaternal. Tien per rezones de ser chapaneed y Tenor éfinidades enturales de anos consellos. Mistatucion de Césas Manités pos motore de haber estado mucho Trempo ficina ej me antigrasse q la lucha en el mominite nilisarie; impresion que se Tuendin Grathmala de alguns elementes quatimatiens que liace taemps viven za Cuba.

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CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH SECRET HCGA- 9697 notes in the letter which LIRLIG-3 received from the mother of the de LLA brothers reference to greetings being sent from "liguel, Elsa, La legra, La Choquita, lelisa, l'aria Elena, and La Cordita. It is requested that LIKENO-3 to queried for any details no can provide to further identify tiese individuals and any information ne knows as to the FAR roles of these individuals. Lqually, it is requested that LIRING-3 be queried for similar information on HULIAN, whom he apparently knew as "Espinoza." Finally [ will be greatly interested in all of the information LIRING-3 can provide on "PAVEL," including a full physical description, if and when we is put in contact with this individual. Since "PAVEL" is supposed to be a "genuine FAR representative," he may well turn out to be "Javier Contreras," or the MIGULL" known to MIGUALEM. 4. Per Paragraph 3 of Reference B. feels that it would be best to wait until LIKING-3 received a clear idea of what, if any, role he is to be given by LIRING, before any further direct discussions are necessary and Texico City. As discussed during TUNNET's recent visit, interests would be best served if LIRENG-3 can convince his between LIKEA contacts that he is now ready to help in PERIATIN's efforts to support the FAR, that because of his poor financial position he will in the future be forced to work in a controlled fashion for LIRING, and that because of the contacts which he established with PAR leaders during his Quatevalan imprisonsame in to exceed by the init and therefore can be influential in herbirg achieve LIRING's ends in its dealings with the FAk. Also, once LIRING-3 has been put into direct contact with the FAR support network in Mexico City, as he has been promised, we should have a clearer idea to what extent the FAR itself plans to utilize LIRING-3. awaits with interest the results of LIRING-3's further discussions with LIKEG. 6. For headquarters: A separate dispatch will be forwarded containing the importation available OR RILLIAN. Leonard S. TORVET

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#### . LACRANDUM OF CRAL COMMITYENTS

ATTACHMENT HITTA- 30908

29 November 1968 70 : Chief. Finance Division : Contract Approving Officer Chief of Station, Mexico City FROM SUBJECT: Ingagement of LIRING-3 as Independent Contractor 1. TERM AND PROJECT CHARGE: The Subject individual has been engaged under oral contract for use under Project LIRAVINE and is chargeable to LIRAVINE. The effective date of the oral contract is 1 December 196 8 subject to termination by ODYOXZ upon 30 days' actual notice. 2. SECURITY APPROVAL: The appropriate security approval for subject's use has been terminated. Type\_\_\_\_\_\_ Date\_\_\_\_\_196\_\_\_. 3. CITIZENSHIP: Subject (XX) is ( ) is not a foreign national. 4. COMMENSATION: The Subject will be paid 4,000 per month. The approximate equivalent of this amount in POPAINZ currency is 320.00 dollars. Subject ( ) will (XX will not receive a Christmas bonus equivalent to \_ Other compensations in the nature of bonus commitments, gifts, paid vacations, etc., include: None 5. TAXES: Subject ( ) is (\*) is not subject to PEFRIME income taxes. If subject to PAPRIAL income taxos, payments and/or deductions will be made in the following manner: 6. QUARTERS AND/OR SUBSISTENCE: (a) Subject ( ) will (x ) will not be furnished quarters and/or subsistence allowances. (b) The following commitments have been made regarding additional compensation to accommodate increase of cost-of-living and quarters 7. OPERATIONAL EXPENSES: (a) Subject (x) will ( ) will not be reimbursed for operational cravel. (b) Subject (x) will ( ) will not be reimbursed for operational expenses. State nature of any operational expenses for which Subject will be reimbursed; operational entertainment, inducement payments, cover expenses 8. CONTINGENT COLIGATIONS: The following have not been promised the individual but may have to be met by ODYOKE. Give reason for each contingent obligation: No commitments other than those stated above have been made ( Contract Approving Officer REVIEWED: Ken. 7.1969 DISTRIBUTION: 3 Authentic copies of Hqs 1 - File P- 12729 Special Contracting Officer 1 - Support

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CLASSIFICATA PROCEEDING ACTIO DISPATCH SECRET MARKES FOR INDEXIN NO INCILING REQUIRED Chief, WH Division OMEN COLANIFIED DESE CAN AUTOSE INDEXING PBRUMEN/LIRING-3 Transmittal of Cuban "Literary" Pamphlet ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES Action Required: FYI 1. Forwarded under separate cover is an issue of a supposedly "literary" Cuban publication containing two short essays by the Salvadorian poet and writer Roque DALTON. The first of these essays is dedicated to LIRING-3. The interesting thing is that LIRING-3 was at that time imprisoned in Guatemala. The essay may thus be viewed as a tribute to 2. Roque DALTON (201-215097) is, according to the files of the Station, an agent of the Cuban Intelligence Service engaged in clandestine activities for the Communist Party of El Salvador. DALTON spent some time in Czechoslovakia and is now living in Cuba. He is the brother of Margarita DALTON (201-751261), whom the Cuban IS recruited to work in Mexico. LIRING-3 got to know PALTON in Havana in 1962-63 and became a close friend of his (see HMMA-32283, 19 June 1967). DALTON at one point confided to LIRING-3 that he had been approached by WOFIRM while incarcerated in El Salvador. 3. The Station is hoping that DALTON's essay is an indication that LIRING-3 is going to be viewed by the Cuban's in much better light after his incarceration in Guatemala. A report of LIRING-3's complete debriefing by ROWTON was forwarded with HMMA-35904, 27 November 1968. for Williard C. CURTIS Attachment: Magazine (1), u/s/c Distribution: Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/att - 1 copy) CS CAPY Ac atti DISPATO: SYMBOL AND MUMBE B201-215077 HMMA - 35915 29 November 1968 CLASSIFICATION 201-798301 SECRET

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TO : Chief, WH Division

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

Separate Cover Attachment to HMMA-35915

SECRET

Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez · Alberto Moravia · Jacques Charriere · Charles Bettelheim · Roque Dalton · José Leza ma Lima · Cmidte. Jorge Serguera

# ENTREMESES JAPONESES

Director Artístico ROLANDO FERRER

> Escenografía RAUL OLIVA

Vestuario MARIA ELENA MOLINET

Conjunto de Arte Teatrall LA RUEDA

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## este número:

La industria azucarera, analizada dentro del contexto histórico de Cuba, es el tema del trabajo PROMETEO ROMPE UNA CADENA del Comandante Jorga-Serguera • QUE ES LA PRAXIS? de Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, capítulo de su libro Filosofía de la Praxis, editado en México. Sánchez Vázquez es profesor de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Autónoma de México. y autor de diversos trabajos filosóficos: Marxismo y Existencialismo, Las ideas estéticas de Marx, etc., este último libro ha sido publicado en Cuba por el Instituto del Libro BASI: L'CONOMICA Y SUPERESTRUCTURAS IDEO-LOGICAS de los economistas franceses. Charles. Bettelheim y Jacques. Charriere, este trabajo forma parte del libro. La construcción del Socialismo en China, publicado en México por la editorial ERA • LA PALMA DE LA MANO, puema del cubano José Lezama Lima (Dador, Versos Orticos, Paradiso). Lezania Lima trabaja en el Instituto de Literatura y Lingüística de la Academia de Ciencias LA CASA DE CARLOS y PRIMAVERA EN JEVA-NI, textos del poeta salvadoreño Regue Dalton (El turno del ofendido puesía) DEBATE, entre el escritor Alberto Moravia y cinco estudiantes italianos. Este debate fue organizado por L'Expresso de Roma, y en él se penen de maniflosto las contradicciones existentes entre la actual generación de intelectuales. y la anterior, de la que forma parte el escritor Moravia.



REUCLUSEOM V CELTERA REVISTA BIMENSUAL

Año 1 Mayo 15 de 1968 Número 10

"Afio del Guerrillero Herolco"

Director: Lisandro Otero Secretaria de Redacción:

Rebeca Châvez

Impress por el Instituto del Libro, Unidad fraductora Nº 11, La Habana, Cuba Telf : 80 1820 Territorio Libre de Amèrica Precio por ejemplar: 20 civa.



Cuando aquel aparato comenzó con su ruido atronador a echar paja por detrás, enna en trozos por el costado izquierdo, humo per arriba y certafa hojas verdes y cogolto, alante, lineia la izquierda; alguien dijo: il's blabaro! Se habia realizado un sueño que tenia 100 años. Parece our le va a llegar la hora de museo al machete. Pero todavia taltu; abera hay que construir muchas e sobre todo me. joraria, Hey que petentaria nora que lado el mundo parda marta y uno solo no se enriquezen con el trabaje de tedes: la patente revelucionaria.

La esclavitud fue sustituida por el cofonato. Una especie de servidambre que se hizo tan común en muestro país que cualquiera se hublese asombrado de que asi no fuese. Cuando di precio nunicainba en el mercado mundad la alegria del cubano hacia carnaval y se enfrentaba a una daura de milleres. Cumelo leciaise el precio del natione la tasa de ercelmiento do muertes aumentaba por vio del sulci-dio como ocurrió en 1930-1932. Si habia paz entre nuciones poderesas había crissis económica en Cuba, si había querra, prosperidad. Asi Mellmente puede inferirae que la base del progresse estaba en la guerra. Teoria muy comun ( , el pasado. Cuando el precio era prio habla la esparanza del aumento. Cuando era alto el temor de que bajara. Asi la mentalidad azucarera del pueblo a causa del monocultivo, o como técnicamente dicen, economia unilineal, era inestable. Y si so tiene en cuenta además la historia de los últimos 60 años, sus corvulsiones, guerras, etc., el desequilibre económico tenia que ser factor de angistias y alegrias, esperanzam y desilusiones que gravaban hondamento el pensamie no del pueblo. Cualquier oscilación de recio se sentia desde el último bohío hista la primera residencia. Claro está que en forma muy diferente.

No obstante raber todo ol mundo o docte quo el problema era el monocultivo y que habia que diversificar los cultivos para liberarse de la dej indencia de un producto, sobre tedo desjués de la crisis econômica do los años . O, no se hizo: porque el uso de las mi juinas cortado. ras, para renlizar la má: dura de todas las operaciones de recoler den "no se permite en Cuba donde hay superexistencia de mano de obra y las le yes sociales viconten lucen au uro extr madamente difigil" (carta de Agregado Agricola de los Estados Unidos, La Habara, 16 de februro da 1954). Y también porque "la mecanización on cualquier cam a do actividad humana incluyendo la agricultura, no dabe ser Hevnda demant do lejon si ha de amargar a les hombres que aman la tierra, la libertad y la dig tidad personal". Por eso en la Unión Soviética, doude la mecanización sobrepasa i iciaso la agroindustrialización, de la producción cubana del azuear, se dice que los campesinos "iararean canciones de pre testa aun a riesgo de ser enatigados seve amente" (Azúcar Amargo, Byron Whi e, pag. 48).

Todos estos pretextos " otros, reflejos de una realidad social, de una contradicción insuperable en las co idiciones en que se plantealia, caracterizó el periodo prerevolucionario. Era verdad que el 56% de la tierra cultivada era dedicada a cafia. Que el cultivo era extensivo; pero sobro todo porque "una mecanización óptima y precipitada de los campos cañeros podria tener consecuencias cooticas, a menos de encontear inmediatamente otros empleos para esa fuerza de trabajo". Byron White, pag. 50),

La Contradicción que sólo una Revolución podria resolver: . ...

Cuba era un país de monocultivo. El 56% de la tierra cultivada era dedienda n cafin. El producto de mayores dividendos, por via de exportación, era el azúcar:-El volumen de las importaciones estaba determinado por la cantidad de azúcar exportada. El desbalance podria ser resultado de la oscilación del precio en el mercado mundial. La especifica o especial calidad del suelo cubano para el cultivo de la caña, más los bajos salarios de la mano de obra para el corte fueron determinantes en el análisis de la costeabilidad más baja de la producción azucarera cubana en comparación con Hawai y Lou. siana, donde la mecanización agricola del corte, alza y slembra pudición haber determinado un costo más bajo en la producción, en la década de 40 al 50.

Con una población de mas de 5 millones de habitantes entre los años 40 y 50, Cuba destinaba 500 000 al corte de caña o sen cerca del 10% de la población, Pero si se considera la población activa en edad de trabajo, los números varian es-

candalosamente. Los propictarios necesitaban mano de obra, barata, y en cantlebt para realizar la zafra. La recolección doraba cuatro meses. Los temporcros de zafra se convertina en desempleades cuando ésta terminuba. Meennizar la industria azacarera -podrin significar un aumento de las utilidades por el bajo costo de producción que conflevaria; pero el desempleo aumentacha agravando una attucción social cuvos resultados eran imprevisibles. Por otra parte, a pivel interpretonal, una disminución en coslo do producción azuenrera de Cuba, óptima en este caso, sería determinante del precio, por cuanto éste, lejos de venir determinado por la oferta y la demanda, ex resultado de los promedlos sociales de produccion a nivel internacional. Esto hubicse provocado la quiebra en Hawai, Puerto Rico, Luisiana, etc. Y los norteamericanos, tutores y beneficiarios do la explotación acocolonial velaban por un cierto equilibrio en sus neocolonias. El despiazamento de otros productores hubicse permitido una concurrencia privilegiada de Cuha en el mercado mundial. Este su no do ado de los enpitalistas cubanos fue cortado con un simple sistema de cuotas que la metrópo't norteamericana impuso, paniendo asi paz entre los irquietos tutelados. Naturalmente que la medida determinó también un estancamiento económico.

Internamente, los obreres se oponian a todo lo que fuese mecanización porque esta acarrenria un desempleo en musa y -no-se velan-por no existir, resibilidada de opción en otros trabajos que no fueso

la industria azucarera,

11 meño de industrializar y diversificarla acricultura del país no podia realizares porque su estado de dependencia económica y neocolonial no se lo permitia. La politica del comprador determinaba el producto. Para industrializar y diversificar hav one ser libres v los goblernos cubanos eran dependientes de la metrópoli norteamericana que no habia previsto en su planificación de obtención de beneficios estas aspiraciones. La importación de materias primas y la exportacion de exceden. tes manufacturados es un privilegio de grandes y desarrollados. El chiquito que liegaba tarde a la mesa sa padia sentarso a comer. Tenia que esperar a que los "grandes" terminasen; pero eran de una voracidad sin limites. Marti lo habia previsto, "El pueblo que compra, manda. El pueblo que vende, sirve Hay que equilibrar el comercio, para asegurar la libertad. El pueblo que quiere morir, vende a un solo pueblo; y el que quiere salvarse, vende a más de uno" (Obras completas, Vol. II, Tomo I, pag. 262).

La verdadera liberación se halla en esas nalabras: La evolución tenta que resol-

ver esa contradicción:

Una ley de desarrollo capitalista es que la acumulación se hace a expensas de la explotación, empobrecimiento y depauperación progresiva de los proletarios. Porque el valor de la fuerza de trabajo vieno determinado por 'a posibilidad de reproducción de dicha fuerza. Al aplicar cata lev del desarrollo capitalisto, la clase duminante obtiene ixpelicios a expensas de la clase obreja; pero en la interrelación de fuerzas y con el provio desarrollo del capitalismo, la dirección principal de la explotación en los países capitalistas, pasó de la clase obrera nacional a las colonias y neocolonias, sufriendo estas últimas el mnyor rigor de la ley de' valor y produciéndose la actual acumulación de capital de los paises desarrollados a expensas de los subdesarrollados. Per eso mientras más desarrollados son unes, más atrasados son otros.

Esta confradicción: para poder desarrollarse hay one observes del explotador, se plantenba en Cuba de forma confusa, como na circulo vicioso Para salir del monocultivo y dependencia económica de un producto nay que diversificar e industrializar y para lograr ia industrialización y diversitiencien agricula hay que liberar la fuerza de trabajo dedicada al azucar a tray's de la mecanización canera y para mecanizar hace falls la seguridad escondmica de que ésta rendirá utilidades.

#### El Circula Vin'oso.

a) Los obreros se oponian a la mecanización perque no existia otra alternativa de trabajo.

b) Los capitalistas no mecanizaban por la insegundad del precio en el mercado mundial.

La mecanización debe habérsele presentado a algunos como una inversión dudoca. For otra parte la muno de obra era barata y en grandes cantidades. El suelo tema tales caracteristlens que casi sin atención producin en condiciones explotables.

- e) Hay un factor más complejo: La industria accentera no tenla perspectivas a largo plazo; pero tampoco era descenable en la inmediato por la rentabilidad que producia. Su futuro era incierto; pero su presente daba utilidades, Ustas caracteristicas, cuit-2014 de inestabilidad, vacilaciones, crisis, alms y bajas, lejos do provocar decisiones en una u otra dirección, mantuvo un estatismo en los propietarles y gobernantes. Tel parece que hubiesen esperado que un impondera. ble o el simple transcorso del tiempo resolviese una situación que a la parque les preocupaba, demostraban ineptitud para resolver.
- d) Si el azucar era la fuente principal de ingre-os y acumulación, por tanto la base financiera del desarrollo deblu ser ésta.

#### Probleman especificos:

- a) 500,000 cortudores de caha. Repregenta el 10% del total de la población y ceren del 40% de la población on educt laboral.
- b) El 56'5 de la tierra cuitivada destimula a cada
- c) La concentración de la caña: la única actividad productiva que podia permitti ingresos casi seguros, se encontraba distribuida entre un número relativamente bajo,

d) La repartición den ocrática de la fuerza de trabajo era, como las instalaciones azucarera, horizental, es deen, a lo largo y incho de la Isla. Concentrar las instillaciones azuca. reras en tierras de mayor productividad y acorde con les ustalaciones de mayor capacidad, su onia también ia concentración de la mano de obra.

Las dos fuentes de riquezas principalos de Cuba, suelo y Alano de Obra, quedaron supeditados a un monocul lyo cuyo futuro era incierto.

Putteron haber arriestado la diversificación e industrialización del país no tanto con las probabilida les de ganancia de un producto inseguro, sino con la realidad de un suelo rico y una fuerza de trabajo apte, pero por reptitud y conformismo unidos a las presiones y tutela de los Estados Unidos no encararon con resolución un proceso d námico que su visión estrecha les hacia sparecer estático.

El simple transcurso del tiempo con des consecuencias inevitables, una social y otra económica (creem-lento de la población y concentración de capital), en las condiciones de la economia cubana, conducta a una crisia del s stema imperante: la Revolución fue la respuesta. Allí donde la burguesia en su doble condición de propietaria y goberna te demostró incapacidad y vacilo, la Levolución tenia que superarla. La Revo veión heredo los problemas que no habian sido encarados y las contradicciones que no habian aldo resueltes.

Las soluciones que al unos escritores progresistas, estudiosos o economistos plantenian a los graves problemas de la economia nacional, no solo resultaban con el tiempo meros paliativo; que solamento lograman la dilación de a crisis e irresolución de los problemas, sino que resultaban reformas impracticables por las contradicciones que a Fi vez creaban. Véuse a modo de ejem to el apéndice No. 5 de José Antonio Guerra, de fecha 28 de septiembre de 1942 También al. gunus conclusiones de Livion White en "Azúcar Amargo", pág. 178 y siguientes.

Pero la Revolución no olamente hereno problemas y contradic sones, sino qua por su sola presencia y nacaraleza del proceso como otros problem a y contradicclones que se vieron agud zados tanto por la agresividad que desde el primer momento desarrollaron los imperialistas estudounidenses como por a ignorancia y fnita de madurez del parblo, quien permendo por las ideas faciles del pasado crein que con la simple na ionalización de

la industria azucarera y otros sectores pedian superarse los problemas. La distrioución de la riqueza, acumulada por la burguesia hasta entonces, no hubicso servido para sobrevivir más que pocos años y además de ser utópica hubleso ennienado el desarrollo industrint del país. Por otra parte, el capital acumulado no bostaba para fluvuciar van discrétteación agricola al instalaciones Industriales. También el merendo seguro que los Estados Unidos representaba para las exportaciones azucareras y las importaciones, tento de alimentos, articulos de lujo y piezas de repuesto, desaparecia. La seguildad que la burguesia aceptaba, a preclo de angustia e incertidumbre, esta ceguridad relativa, desaparecia con la Revolución,

Esta era resultado de una contradicción que en el plano de las relaciones internacionales, bilaterales y casi exclusivas entre Cuba v los Estados Unidos, los últimos llevaban la mejor parte. El desa, rrollo económico tenia que haberlo encarado la burguesia cubana a pesar de los Estados Unidos, Desavrollar si se quiere una concepción nacionalista, chauvinista, de independencia econômica, pero su concepción de fatalismo geográfico, sus temores y bulbuceos le impidieron realizar una politica para la que bacia falta, además de coraje, inteligencia De una parte la naturaleza del imperialismo se revela Incupaz para conceder reformas y por otra. es una caracteristica subjencels de las burguesias nacionales latinoamericanas, sa temor a rebelarse contra los tutores de una politica y economia que por su poder y rapachlad les infunde temor. En el caso de latinoamérica no es tanto que no haya cristalizado una conciencia nacional burguesa, sino que la existencia de esta claso tiene una conciencia de dependencia de Estados Unidos que la racabacita en este periodo histórico para ver la posibilidad de una existencia independiente,

Con el triunfo de la Revolución, los burgueres y pequeños burgueses abandonaron Cuba, no solamente por las intervenciones revolucionarias, sino tambén por la convicción que tenian de que no podia mantenerse un gobierno que aglicare una politica no solo a pesar de los Estados Unidos, alno contra los intereses y objetivos de los Estados Unidos, Hebian sido mey dependientes y cobardes, Desarrollaron y acept from come penestionables, conceptos que elevaron a categorias de axiomas politicos, sin percatarse que evan el reflejo de ium ideologia y creencus temerosas: "S'n azucar no Lay Pals". "L'i pueblo cubano es haragan", "Cuba está muy cerca de los | Zaindos Unidos para hacer to que le plazca", etcitera.

Si al gobierno de los Estados Unidos y a las burguesias letimosmericanes causó asombro y estupefacción la proclamación socialista de la Revolución cubana, en los cobardes burgueses y pequeños burgueses. nel como en los cubamos en Mlami, el origen del acombro no era bueto económico, sino que proventa del hecho de que se mantuviese la Revolución. La cobardía jamás concibe otras soluciones que-las-ya experimentadas. Para elles las reformas eran dificiles, casi utópicas, ¿Una Revolución, imposible!

Los sovicticos y demás-palses-coelalistas ofrecieron mercado para el azúcar.

Les inversiones econômicas para el desărrollo de la industria que la lógica priorizaba, se vicron obstaculizadas por el bloqueo impuesto por los no teamericanos y por la necesidad de desacrollar un aparato militar fuerte y mocranisimo, capaz de enfrentar tanto las agresiones, como las amendas constantes que los Estudos Unides y gobiernes latinoumericanos realizabun.

Hoy la situación se plantes con agudeza. Para lievar adelante la diversificación agricola o industrialización del país, hace falta mano de obra. Los cubanos en edad laboral somes user 2,000,000 y el 30 por ciento está dedicado a la recolección azu-

Liberar esta fuerza de trabajo supono la pesicilidad de dirigirla a otros sectores donde su productividad y desarrollo permita la acumulación de riquezas necesarias al despeque comómico. Lara esto hay que mecanizar la industria azuenrera. La máquina que corte y uke Operará no sólo 500 600 cubanos, formidable fuerza de trabajo, sino que termintra por primera vez con el fatigoso corte de caña, uno de los trabajos más duros y violentos que en el planeta se conoce. El machete, simbolo, de libertad y esfuerzo del cubano, también rigno de dependencia y angustia, se convertirá en una pieza de riuseo,

Todavia por algunos nãos habrá que depender del merocultiva cafiero, y del azécar como producto principal de exporfación. Esta prioridad exacurera es una de las razones que determina la Imposi-Lilidad de contar con maro de obra suficiente para desarrollar ottos cultivos de manera intensa. Es positicmente sólo en Cuba, donde se da el fen la eno de un equilibrio entre la densidad de población y las tierres cultivables, equinbric en nuestro erso desfavorable al Jesarrollo económico, y que se ve causado o agravado por el predominio cahero.

Si en vez de 7 millones fu/semos 10 millenes de cubanos el problema se plantea, ría en otros términos. Podría tal vez encararse la mecanización america como paulatina y paralela al desarrollo de otros sectores; pero en nuestros condiciones la mecanización resulta un requisito sino qua non.

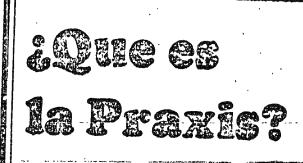
Pero la mecanización no sólo produce efectos comóndeos, sino que el más profundo es de carácter Meo. La verdadera liberación secá de la fatigosa carga del corte manual.

Alguien un dicho que el verdadero fin de la Revolución es una máquina cortadora, que cumado esto acurra la Revolución habrár roto una de las cedenas más pesadas y difíciles.

Esto representará la liberación de una parte considerable de la población en edad laborat y romperá las barreras de una baja productividad cuyos resultados a mediano y larco plazo, son dificiles de preveer. Le industria acocarera sigue slendo incierto, en tanto existe la posibili, das de producir avácar sintético; en condiciones económicas Pero Fusta tanto eso no ocurra, la industria azucarera de la caña, seguirá sierde la baje de mestro desarrollo económico, y en preos años, descansando, en las riquezas de nuestro suclo

y en la fuerza de nuestro pueblo, la Revolución habrá resueito as contradicciones y problemas que timoratos y vacilantes no supiéron encarar con el valor y el coraje que le habian legado las tradiciones mambisas; el mechete que s rvié para romper el nudo con España, s rve hoy también como garante exclusivo, per la mano que lo empuña, de un deservello económico en el que sir riesgo de n ngún tipo pueden contine todos los gobier los y pueblos del mundo.

- a) La combinada de forte y alza que vimos en la Básica del Cauto representa una ayuda hestimable al prosenta una ayuda hestimable al prosenta una acumuque realizar en afo: de una acumulación de riquezas pera financiar tanto la industria como la diversificación agrícola.
- b) Representa un incremento de la población en edad las real.
- c) Hará desaparecer une especie de sentimiento de culpal didad que naturalmente tenemos que sentir todos respecto al obrero agricola cortador.
- d) La máquina de cort : y alza constituye el primer estabón de la Revolución industrial neceptale a nuestro desarrotio y nuestra, tot di liberación.



## Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez

### Actividad y prazis.

Toda pranta es actividad, pero no toda netividad es prants. Al achadar Marx que el idealismo, en contraste con el materialismo, admite el lado activo de la relación sujeto-objeto, y al subrayar, a su vez, su defecto—ne ver esta actividad como práctica—(1) nos previene contra todo intento de establecer un signo de igualdad entre actividad y praxis. De ahí que para delimitar el contendo propio de esta ultima y su relación con otras actividades, sea preciso distinguir la praxis, como forma da actividad e pecifica, de otras que pueden estar incluso intimamente vinculadas a ella.

Por actividad en general, entendemos el acto o conjunto de actos en virtud de los cuntes un sujoto activo (agente) madifica una materia prima Gada. 60 Lata caracterizacion de la activalad justamente por su generalidad no espectiva of tipo do agente (fisico, biológico o hunano) ni la naturaleza de la materia prima sobre la que actúa (cuerpo tisico, ser vivo, vivencia psiquica, grupo, relación o institución social) ni determina tampoco la especio de actos (físicos, psiquicos, sociales) que conducen a cierta transformación. El resuntado de la netividad, a son, su producto se da asimismo, en niveios diversos: puedo ser una nuova particula, un concepto, un útil, una obra artística o un nuevo sistoma social.

En este amplio sentido, actividad se opone a pusividad, y su esfera es la de la

efectividad, no la de lo meramente posible. Agente es lo que obia, lo que setus y no lo que catà solumente en posibilidad o disponibilidad de actuar u obrar. Su actividad no es potencial, sino actual. So da efectivamento sin que pueda ser separada del auto o conjunto de actos que la constituyen. La actividad muestra en las relaciones entre las partes y el todo los rasgos de una totalidad concreta. Varios actos desarticulados o yuxtapuestos casualmente no permiten habiar de actividad: es preciso que los actos singulares so articulen o estructuren, como elemenion de un todo, o de un proceso total, que desemboca en la modificación de una materia prima. Por ello, a los actos del agente y a la materia sobre la cual se ejerce esta actividad, hay que agregar el resultado o producto que es esa materia mirmu ya transformada por el agente.

Attentio concepto de actividad es lo sus ficientemente amplio para que englobe, por ejemplo: a un nivel fisico, las relaciones nucleares de determinadas particulas que conducen a la transformación de unos elementos quimicos en su conjunto, o la actividad de un órgano en particular; a un nivel psiquies, las actividades del hombre o del animal del tipo de la sonsorial, refleja instintiva, eteétera; en este plano instintivo, la actividad puede manifestaras como una serie de actos tan complejos como el de la construcción de un nico por un pájaro, sin que por ello deje de ser una actividad meramente biológica, natural. El hombre también puede ser su-

jeto de actividades —biológicas o instintivas — que no rebasan su nivel meramente natural y que, por tanto, no podemos considerarlas como especificamente humanas.

La actividad prepiamente humana sólo se da cuando los actos dirigidos a un objeto para transfermarlo re inician con un resultado ideal, o fin, y terminan con un resultado o puoducto efectivos, rendes. En este caso, los actos no sólo se hallan determinados eastadmente por un estado anterior que se ha ando efectivamento—determinación del pasado por el presente—, sino por algo que no tiene una existencia efectiva nun y que, sin embargo, determina y regula los diferentes actos antes de desembocar en un resultado real; o sea, la determinación no viene del pasado, sino del futuro.

#### La adecuación a fines.

Este modo de articulación y determinación de los diferentes acros del proceso activo distinguen radicalmente la actividad especificamente humana de cualquier otra que se halle a un nivel meramente natural. Dicha actividad entraña la intervención de la condencia gracias a la cual el resultado estato dos veces ---y en tiempos distintos -- , como resultado ideal y como producto real. El resultado realque se quiere obt nor, existe primera idealmente, como mero preducto de la conclencia, y los diterentes acros del pro-680 se articular o estructurar conforme al resultado que se da primero en el tiempo, er decir, el resultado bient. Por esta anticipación del resultado que se pretende obtener, la actividad proplamente humana tiene un caracter consciente. Lo extracterístico de ella es que por mucho que diste el resultado real del Ideal se trata, en tedo caso, de adecuar intencionalmente el primere al segundo. Ello no significa que el resultado obtenido hava de ser forzosamente una mera duolicación real de un modelo ideal preexistente. No; la adecuación no tiene por que ser perfecta. Puede asemejarse poco, e incluse nada, al fin originario, ya que este sufre cambios, a veces radicales, en el proceso de su realización. Ahora bien, para que pueda hablarse de actividad humana basta que se plantee en cila un resultado ideal o fin a compar, come punto de partida, y una intención de adecuación, independientemente do cômo se plasme, en detunitiva, el modelo ideal originario,

Esta madecuación entre intención y resultado se pone de manifesto tanto en la actividad de los individuos como en la proplamente social. Aqua, mientras los hombres no son conscienes de las leyes

que rigen el proceso econôn leo-sociel, la persecución de diferentes I nes por los miembros de la sociedad da tugar a acuvidades diversas de los individues o grupos sociales en los que dichos fines se contraponen, equilibran o s: subordinan entre si produciendo resulti dos que no concuerdan con sus intenciones o que so dan con Independencia de és as. Las relaciones de producción, por ejemplo, son relaciones que los hombres contraen independientemente de su voluntad y de su conciencia. Es decir, son producidas por los hombres como productos suyos hilatencionales. (3) El progreso histórico se caracterizară, entre ofras cesas, por una superación de esta infutencio alidad. Los hombres que en el pasado pre lujeron inintencionamiente la esclavitud el feudalismo y el capitalismo se propon in hoy, conscientemente, la destrucción de las relaciones capitalistas de producción y la lestambién del socialismo. Pero atmque la historia humana registra regultados que nadle ha querido, esta inin encionalidad no es sino la forma que socia mente adopta el resultado de la activida i desplegada. por los individuos como seres sociales que actúan conscientemente, o Volveremos más adelante (en el capitalo V) sobre esta cuestión,

La actividad humana es, por tanto, actividad conforme a fines, y és os sólo existen por el hombre, como pre luctos de su conclencia. Tode acción ver aderamento numana exige cierta conclenca de un fin, el cual se supedita al curso de la actividad misma.

El fin es, a su vez, la expresión de cierta actitud del sujeto ante la realidad. Por el hecho de trazarme un fin, i dopto clerta posición ante ella. Quien se propone realizar un viaje, construir una silia, plutac un cuadro o transformar un régimen social, muestra determinada actitud ante una situación real, presente. Si el hombre viviera en plena armonia con la realidad, o en total conciliación con su presente, no semiria in necesidad de nominos idealmente ni de configurar en sa conciencia una realidad inexistente aún. Carcee de sentido, en verdad, proponerse un fin ya alcanzado, o un resultado obtenido. El fin prefigura idealmente lo qué aún no se logra alcanzar. Por el heche de trazarso fines, el hombre niega una r alidad efectiva, y atirma otra que no existe todavia. Pero los tines son productos de la conclencia, y, por ello, la activida d que rigen es consciente. No se trata de la actividad de um conciencia pura, sino de la conclencia de un hombre se dal que no puede prescludir de la production de fines en ninguna forma de actividad, incluyendo, por supuesto, la práctica, material.(5)

Marx hace resaltar el papel del fin en una actividad practica como el trabajo humano: «Al final del proceso de trabajo, brota un resultado que antes de comenzar el proceso existía ya en la mente del obrero: es decir, un resultado eve tenía ya existencia ideal. El obrero no se limita a hacer cambiar de forma la materia que le brinda la naturaleza, sino que, al mismo tiempo, realiza en ella su fin, fin que él sabe que rige como una ley las modalidades de su netuación, y al que tiene que supeditar su voluntade. (6)

Al subrayar aqui el papel de la producción de fines en el proceso de trabajo, Marx destaca asimismo el papel del objeto —ala materia que lo brinda la naturalez as—sobre el cual se ejerce dicha actividad. La transformación de la naturaleza material en productos mediante el trabajo no podría darse sin estas condiciones materiales, pero, a su vez. Marx subraya justamente por traturse del trabajo como una actividad especificamente hurana el papel determinante del fin, y su carácter de ley en dicho proceso de transformación material.

El fin, por tanto, prefigura aqui el resultado de uma actividad real, práctica, que ya no es para actividad teal, práctica, que ya no es para actividad do la conciencia. Gracias a ello, el hombre no se halla en uma relación de exterioridad con sus diferentes actos y con su producto como sucede cuando se trata de un agente físico o animal, sino en uma relación de interioridad con ellos, ya que su conciencia establece el fin como ley de sus actos, ley a la que se subordinan, y que rige, en electo modo, el producto. Este dominio jamás puede ser absoluto, ya que se halla limitado por el objeto de la acción y los medios con que se lleva a cabo la materiali-

zación de los fines. Asi, pues, al anticipar idealmente el resultado efectivo, puede ajustar sus actos como elementos de una totalidad regida por el fin. Esta prefiguración ideal del resultado real diferencia radicalmente la actividad del hombre de cualquier otra actividad animal que, externamente, pudlera asemejarse a ella. «Una araña -dlce Marx- ejecuta operaciones que seriejan las manipulaciones del tejedor, y la construcción de los panales de las abejas podría avergonzar, por su perfección, a más de un maestro de obras. Pero hay nigo en que el peor muestro de obras aventaja, desde luego, a la mejor abeja. y es el hecho de que, antes de ejecutar la construcción, la proyecta en su cerebrov.(7)

Tomando en cuenta la semejanza externa que puede darse entre ciertos actos animales y humanos, hay que concluir que la actividad propia del hombre no

puede reducirse a su mera expresión exterior y que de ella forma parte esencialmente la actividad de la conciencia. Esta actividad se despliega como producción de tines que prefiguran idealmente el resultado real que se quiere obtener, pero se manifiesta, asimismo, como producción de conocimientos, es decir, en forma de conceptos, hipótesia, teorias o leyea mediante los cuades el hombre conoce in realidad.

Entre la actividad cognoscitiva y le teleológica hay diferencias importantes, pues mientras la primera tiene que ver con una realidad presente de la cual se pretende dar razón, la segunda hace referencia a unn realidad lutura, y, por tanto, inexis-"tente aun." Por otro lado, mientras la actividad cognoscitiva de por si no entraña una exigencia de acción efectiva, la actividad teleológica lleva implicita una exigencia de realización, en virtud de la cual se tiende a hacer del fin una causa de la acción real. En efecto, en cuanto anticipación ideal de un resultado real que se quiere ideanzar, el fin es también expreción de una necesidad humana que sólo se satisface con el logio del resultado que nauel prefigura o anticipa. Por elle, no es sólo anticipación ideal de lo que está pur venir, sino de algo que, además, que ... remos que venga. Y, en este sentido, es causa de acción y determina -como porvenir- nuestros netos presentes. Cierto es que el hombre no solo anticipa el futuro con su actividad teleológica; al der razón de una realidad presente, y sobre la base de su conocimiento puede prever una faso de su desenvolvimiento que no se da nún. Tal es la legitima función de la previsión cientifica. Con ella, se anticipa idealmente la que todavia no existe efectivamente. Pero esa anticipación ideal del futuro no entraña necesariamente que queramos su existencia real, o aspiremos a contribuir a que advenga. En este caso, el futuro no determina nuestros actos; es decir, la prefiguración ideal de una realidad inexistente no rige como una ley -a diferencia del fin- mustra acción. En pocas palabras, la actividad cognoscitiva de por si no nos mueve a actuar.

Pero eso no significa que una y otra actividad de la conciencia se hallen separadas por una muralla insulvable. No se conoce por conocer, sino al servicio de un fin, o serie de fines que puede tener como ediabón inicial el de la conquista de la verindi; a su vez, como antes señalamos, los fines que la conciencia produce flevan en su seno una exigencia de realización, y esta realización presupone—entre otras condiciones— una actividad cognoscitiva sin la cual dichos fines jamás podrían tocar tierra, es decir, cumpirse. Por otro lado, todo fin presupone deter-

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61 hiega klentinente, vi en esta seirlub -china Indice de cheffe nivel chanostiff. vo- no pedela destitledate transce del teninghhidinto.

Asi; pues, la nellyidell de la combeneia. title by hesemulation de toda vertadeta actichted lumarai, or the meantly comb Saloumilde the time of prediction the time includentes on tuting unitial. Stellienlite accutara siembre el muida bomo es. y si, boi vien baille es accontara steinurb a si mit and eli eli estado nettial, ho sentirla Le microbbut de braisformar el munuto ul the transfordation of the set little. Se utility kompeletalo, de la inisti i manera uno accidhad Viroling had anotalities are entroid. hellmidd. El conochidento finniana en su from hillion of introduction Li charle of infilliting Initia del helidico de trinstrutute di mistutaleza exterior, y su propia entreniera. Pero el conocimiento no serve illectation. to a tiska actividad bractica, himsimmathord; at posts on reloción con tila a través the bid three. In relatelist tellers of hinds inleuto y la acción requirto la medición the his tiling on han the thanklith so bit inclusdesert to insulations, is can nominally this de inte apotomon de rollochen, pula trallyacht - a communication of that the terly dudy path probed deluminate it-Millintto - begitters till betterlim blite ille str tible in the be incilled a instrumental min tradisferancies by the life completions than Albred a bletrin bis notifulldubis de per reallfaisidd. Bin eatheacht nein, las neithle thillies being the triber of telephoneter the la tribe theheld se limbat en und tim lad Indied. Histolië.

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#### Le Artivital practicit.

Citità tota activitat briotificate hishatting is netlyblad practica the tacifically Hesta on el Habajo humand, di la Ciedtion utilities of on in jurists revolutiolibring is tith belivided blockfild it linds, billed billiplimlento exige -band liemds ponalado - divida delividad comoscilica. Pero is distinto the la neuvidui practica Indica en el caracter real, objetivo, de la materia prima sobre la cual se aciúa, de Ing média a instrumentos tan que se elerre la melon y de sa resu mo o producto. En la actividad practica, el sujeto netua sobre una mitteria cate existe indemullentemente de su concencia, y de las illierentes operaciones d natifichaelones Exigidas por an transferate den. Im transtoritación de em matella i-robte toto. our of trabale limination - talte min merle the metre fishers, correspond and for contest no podría llevarse a cabo la alteración o destrucción de cierras prop adades que haco instald la aparición de un nuevo objeto, emi micris maniedaties - Bu il trabitio, the Make set hombre se entrenta como tili hoder harmal con la materia de la putti alexit. Pune en nec'hi las, fuerens naturales one forman su corporeldath los brazas e las piermis, la cal zal y la mand. para de ese medo asimil eser balo uma further util prin on propil vida, for nintorita que la naturaleza le brindas, en Plushmente, el broducto co su nell'ellind tunisidinalora es un blile o ninterial qub substeta con fintependencia del proceso de su genación, y que, con tu a kustmitividad proplar se attrant auto el cujeto, es decir. justing while the desirable from the the in ne-Highligh alberten que do le creatin

In page module, a steen a docte mile he netighted practice is real disteller u ninterry. Yen mesara taleso ast in connecterigh Mire busin Toda gibn a kengalmelicio al elablate in expresion er clivid in objett. tide. Times subraya el en neler teal, bliletten, de la maris en em um transformit of hunds extering that e: imbependiento de sh conclencia y de su existencia. Bit obleto de la nettridad pentitica es la lintit-Interd in speledari u las idmilires redies. Et this to ten netwided by in transformidción real, objetiva, del mendo fintural h recipt bain satisfacer the rinhada nececulail importing Y of resiliate on time neeva Lealidadi que albai de Indépendientermeitte del aujein u de l'is suffids conterctos title la tagendraror run su fletivithat subjection, pero me, ex defidition, 80. la existe per el hombre y men el hombre, Como her sauldl.

film tota accidit real, objettym sobre una tentidad - datuint o hunte in- que telsto Interentlemente del su ela bracileo, no public limblarse proplamen e de praxis ett. mo nell'idad dinterial to sciento y objetivanter por tanto, in known netividad publicited inslighted o hieraniente enphilium que im se mijetive manerialmento hit puttle considerates to at prakis.

#### Portuas du pratis.

La materia prima de le actividad plattion purite entabline double ligne a diverbus formus do praxis. E objeto sobre cla

cual ejerce su acción el sujeto puede ser: a) lo dado naturalmente, o entes nafurales: b) productos de una praxis anterior que se convierten, a su vez, en materia de tina nueva praxis, como los materiales ya preparados con que trabala el obrero o crea el artista plástico; c) lo humano misno, ya se trate de la sociedad como maleria u objeto de la praxis politica o revoluconaria, va se trate de individuos concretos. En unos casos, como vemos, la praxis tiene por objeto al hombre y, en otios, una materia no propiamente humana: natural, en unos casos, artificial, en otros.

Entre las formas fundamentales de la praxis tenemos la actividad práctica productiva, o relación material y transformadora que el hombre establece -mediante su trabalo-con la naturaleza. (11) Gracias al trabalo, el hombre venco la resistencia do las materias y fuerzas naturales y cren un mundo do objetos útiles que satisfacen determinadas necesidades. Pero como et hombre es un ser social, esta proceso solumente se renliza en determinadas condiciones sociales, es decir, en el marco de ciertas relaciones que los hombres contracu como agentes de la produccion en este proceso y que Marx llama justamente relaciones de producción.(12)

En el proceso de trabajo, el hombre valiendose de los instrumentos o medios adecuados transforma un objeto con acreglo a un fin. En cuanto materializa cierto fin o proyecto, se objetiva en electo modo en su producto. En el trabajo -dico Marx- el hombre asimila «bajo una forma útil para su propia vida, las materias que la naturaleza le brinda», (13) pero sólo puede asimilarlas objetivandose en ellas. es decir, imprimiendo en la materia trabafada la marca de sus tines. Marx senata esta adecuación a un fin como uno de los factores escuclales del proceso de trabajo: \*Los factores simples que intervienen en el proceso de trabalo son: la actividad adecuada a un fin, o sea, el propio trabajo, su objeto y sus medios».(11)

En esta caracterización del proceso de trabalo, rodenos hablar de condiciones objetivas —la netividad del hombre y las condiciones materiales del trabajo- representadas tanto por el objeto del traba-Jo como por los medlos e Instrumentos con que se lleva a cabo esa transformación. Sin embargo, esta división no puede considerarse absoluta. En primer lugar, el hombre transforma el objeto con arregio a fines valiéndose de instrumentes que él mismo usa y fabrica, razón por la cual Marx dice que su uso y fabricación «enracierizan el proceso de trabajo especifi-camento humano». (15) Al reducir Marx

terial y objetiva del proceso laboral- a trabajo humane, el instrumento aparece asi humanizado también -tanto por su also como por su fabricación—. Cierto es que esta humanización no nuede conce- : :ltimo en un sentido abstracto, antropolós . gico, sino como expresión tanto de una determinada relación entre el hombre y la naturaleza como de las condiciones sociales en que los hombres producen (relaciones de producción). Por ello dice Marx: «Los instrumentos de trabato no son solamente el barómetro indicador del desarrollo de la fuerza de trabalo del hombre. sino también el exponente de las condiciones sociales en que se trabaja. (16) Grachas a los instrumentos, la relación entre ci hombre y la naturaleza deja de ser directa e inmediata. La aparición de instrumenter mis perfeccion: dec modifica el tipo de retación entre el hondire y la naturaleza, y, en este sentido, es un Indico revelador del desarrollo de su fuerza do trabajo y de su dominio sobre la naturaleza. El poder de mediación del instrumento se ha extendido y elevado con la introducción de la máquina hasta llegar n la nutomaticación con la que ci homoro otteda separado radiculmente del objeto de la producción. Pero cualesquiera que scan los instrumentos de que se valga para transformar la materia conforme a sus fines, es, en definitiva, el hombre gulen los usa y fabrica, y es él, en última instancia, el que vallendose de ellos actúa sobre las materias y las transforma conforme a sus necesidades. El papel dominante de los medios de producción, subrayado por Marx, lejos de eliminar la prerencia del hombre concreto, como sujeto de la producción, lo revela lacquivocamente. Pero esta presencia de pone de manifiesto ablertamente con el tercer factor del proceso de trabajo señalado por Marx: su carácter de actividad personal adecuada a un fin. No se puede desconocer el papel de este factor al analizar el proceso de trabajo aunque ello se haga para subrayar la naturaleza material de las condiciones del proceso de trabajo y el papel dominanto de los medios de producción.»(17)

el instrumento de trabajo -condición ma-

Se puede afirmar el carácter teleológico de la actividad práctica, material, quo es el trabajo humano, sin que ello implique hacer abstracción de la materialidad misma de ese proceso, materialidad quono se reduce, por otra parte, al objeto do trabajo y a los instrumentes materiales. sino que incluye también, la propia acidvidad subjetiva del hombre que se enfreuin con sus instrumentos e la materia ya que en el trabajo spone en acción las fuerzas naturales que forman su corpo- 11

La praxis productiva es asi la praxis fundamental porque en cila el hombre no sólo produce un mundo humaro o humanizado, en el sentido de un mundo de objetos que satisfacen necesidades humanas y que sélo pueden ser producidos en la medida en que se plasmar en elles finos o proyectos humanos, sina tambiéa, en el sentido de que en la praxis productiva el hombre se produce, forma o transforma a si mismo. «A la par que de ese racao actúa sobre la naturaleza exterior a él y la transforma - dice Marx en El Capital-, transforma su propla naturaleza desarrollando las potencias que cormulan en el y sometiondo el juego de sus fuerzas a su propla disciplina, citi

Otra forma de pranis es la producción o creación de obras de arte. Al igual que el trabaja humano es transformación de una materia a la que se imprime una formia dada, e.d. ada no ya por um necesidad practico-utilitària, sino per una necesidad general humana de expresion y obletivación. En cuacco que la actividad del artista no se halla amicada por la uttlidad material que el producto del trabajo. debe satisfacer, puede llevar el preseso de humanización que - en forma limitada se da ya en el trabajo homano hasta sus últimes consecuencias. Por ello la praxis artistica permite la creación de objetos humanes o hemonizados que elevan a un geado superior la capacidad de expresión y objetivación humanos, que se revela ya en los productos del trabajo. La obra artistica es, ante todo, erención de una nueva realidad, y puesto que el hombre se nfirma, eveando o hum inicanço etanto toca, la praxis artistica - al en anchar y enriqueder con sus creaciones la renticad ya humaniza ki-- es una praxis esencial para el hombre.

Coras toda verdadera praxis humana. cl arte se sitúa en la esfera de la accióa. de la transformación de una materia que ha de ecder su forma para adoptar occamieva: la exigida por la necesidad humana que el pojeto cicado o producido ha de ratisfacer. El arte no es meca producción material ni pura producción espiritual. Pero justamente por su caracter práctico, realizador y transformador, está más cerea del trabajo humano -sobre todo, cuando éste no ha perdido su carácter prendor-, que de una actividad meramente espiritual.

Entre las formas de actividad práctica que se ejercen sebre una materia dada hay que incluir también la actividad cientifica experimental que satisface, primerdialmente, las necesidades de la investigación teórica, cy, en particular, las de la

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comprobación de hipótes s. Esta forma de praxis es la que se none de manificato cuando el investigador actún sobre un obicto material modificande a voluntad las coadiciones en que se ope a un fenómeno. Tal es el sentido de la experimentación como praxis eleutifica. El investigador produce fenómenos que so i una reproducclón de las que se dan en un medio naturat, pero los produce justi mente para poder estudiarlos en un med o artificial --el del laboratorio-sin las i apurezas y perturbaciones con que se presentan en el medio natural y que, por esa razón, dificultan su estudio. En cue ito que se trata de producir determinados fenómenos con avuda del instrumento fis co adecuado, la actividad científica experimental es, evidentemente, una forma de praxis. Se trata de una actividad objetir a que da lugar a un producto o resultado real y objetivo.

Lin este tipo de praxis el fin inmediato es teórico. El esperimento se lleva a cabo para probar una teoria, ) determinados aspectos de ella. Se expe imenta respondiendo a ciertas exigencias teóricas con el fin de facilitar el desarro lo de ella. Un determinado experimento -por ejemplo. los reali, ados en agronomi - puede tener consecuencias prácticas, pero no directamente, sino a traves de la coria que trata de comprobar.

Alicia bien, la experimentación no es privativa de la clencia; case hablar también de una actividad e operimental en otros campos: artístico, ecucativo, económico o social. En estos ca os, a diferencia de la actividad experimental elentifica, el experimento no está al se vicio directo e inmediato de una teoria, s no de una forma especifica de praxis; el experimento matistico o educativo tiene por fin el lmpulso de la actividad práctica corresponmente, el arte o la educición. De este modo, vemos que mientra, en la ciencia el im de la actividad experimental es teóvico - fortalecer o impulsar el desarrollo de una teoria--, y, de un modo mediato, sirve por tanto a determinada actividad práctica, en otros campos la experimentácida contribuye al desenvo vimiento de la peaxis correspondiente, pero de una maneva dicecta e Inmediata; en cuanto que pur resultados se aplican en la esfera práctien adecuada,

Tales son las formas fundamentales -aunque no exclusivas- de la praxis cuando la acción del hombre se ejerce más o menos inmediatamente sebre una materia natural —naturaleza ir nediata, o naturnieza yn medinta, o tral ajadę que sirve de objeto de nueva acción-. Veamos, ahora, el tipo de praxis en que el hombro es sujeto y objeto de ella; es decir, praxis en la que actúa sobre si mi-mo.

Esta actividad práctica del hombre ofrece diversas modalidades. Dentro de ella caen los diversos actos encaminados a su transformación como ser social, y, por ello, a cambiar sus relaciones econômicas. politicas y sociales. En cuanto que su actividad toma por objeto no a un individuo nislado, sino a grupos o clases sociales, e incluso a la sociedad entera, nuede deunminarse praxis social, aunque en un sentido amplio toda práctica (incluyendo aquella que tiene por objeto directo a la naturaleza) reviste un carácter social, ya que el hombre sólo puede llevaria a caho contravendo determinadas relaciones sociales "trelaciones de producción en la praxis productiva) y, además, porque la modificación práctica del objeto no humano se traduce, a su vez, en una transformación del hembre como ser social.

En un sentido más restringido, la praxis social es la actividad de grupos o clases sociales que conduce a transformar la organización y dirección de la sociedad, o a realizar cicrtos cambios mediante la actividad del Estado. Esta forma de praxis es justamente la actividad política.

En las condiciones de la sociedad dividida en clases antagônicas, la política comprende la lucha de clases por el poder y la dirección y estructuración de la sociedad, de acuerdo con los interesca y finas cor espondientes. La politica es una actividad práctica en cuanto que la lucha que libran los grupos o clases sociales se halla vinculada a cierto tipo de organización real de sus miembros finstituciones y organizaciones politicas, como son, por ejemplo, los partidos) en segundo lugar, aunque la actividad politica vaya acompañada de un choque y contraposición de ideas, proyectos, programas, etcétera, y esta lucha ideológica ejerza una influencia indudable en las acciones políticas reales, concretas, el carácter práctico de la actividad politica exige formas, medios y mêtodos reales, efectivos, de lucha; asi, por elemplo, el projeturiado en su lucha politica se vale de huelgas, manifestaciones, mithes e helipo de métodos violentos. En tercer lugar, la actividad politica gira en torno a la conquista, conservación, dirección o control de un organismo concreto como es el Estado. El poder es un Instrumento de importancia vital para la transformación de la sociedad.

La pravis politica presupone la participación de amplios sectores de la sociedad. Pero no se trata de una actividad espontânea, aunque se den en ella actos espontâncos de determinados individuos o grupos. Persigue determinados fines que responden a los intereses radicales de las cluses sociales, y en cada situación concreta la realización de esos fines se halla condicionada nor las posibilidades objetivas inscritas en la propia vealidad. Una politica que responda a esus posibilidades v que excluya todo aventurerismo, exige un conocimiento de esa realidad y de la correlación de clases para no proponerse acciones que desemboquen inexorablemente en un fracaro. La lucia tiene que ser, por tanto, consciente, organizada y dirigida, y la necesidad de librarla en esto forma expilca la creación de los partidos politicos.

Los partidos trazan, con una mayor o menor conciencia de los objetivos, postbilidades y condiciones, la linea de accion. Los métodos para transiormar lo ideal en real, es decir, para realizar practicaniente la linea pólitica trazada por un partido constituve la estrategia y la táctica. La estrategia señala las turcas correspondientes a una etapa historica general, y la táctica determina el modo de cumplir la lines politica de un periodo relativamente brove. Estrategia y tuctica se relacionan dentro de la linea politica y de su aplicación como lo general y lo particular.

La pruxis politica, en cuanto actividad practica transformadora, alcanza su forma más alta en la praxis revolucionaria como empa superior de la transformación práctica de la sociedad. En la sociedad dividida en clases untagónicas, la octividad revolucionaria permito campiar radicalmente las bases económicas y sociales en que se asienta el poder material y e piritual de la clase dominante, e instaurar asi una nueva sociedad. El agente principal de este cambio es el proletariado a través de una lucha consciente, organizada y diriglda, lo one presupone la existencia de un partido que eleve su conciencia de clasay trace claramente los objetivos do esta lucha, su estrategia y su táctica, que organice las fuerzas y las dirila.

Si el hombre existe en cuanto tal como ser práctico, es decir; afirmandose con su actividad práctica transformadora frente a la naturaleza exterior y fronte a su propia naturaleza, la praxis revolucionaria y la prash productiva constituyen dos dimenalones escuciates de au ser pràctico. Pero, a su vez, una y otra uctividad, junto con las restantes formus especificas do praxis, no son sino formas concretas parficulares de una praxis total humana gracias a la cual el hombre como ser sociel y consciente humaniza los objetos y se humaniza a si mismo.

#### La actividad teórica.

La actividad teórica en su conjunto -como ideología y ciencia-, considerada también a lo largo de su desenvolvimiento histórico, sólo existe por y en relación 13

con la práctica, ya que en ella encuentra su fundamento, sus tines y criterio de verdad, como trafaremos de poner de manificsto más adelante. Pero por estrechas que sean las relaciones entre una y otra actividad, la netividad teórica de por si no muestra los rasgos que hemos considerado privativos de la praxis, y, por ello, no debemos ponerla en el mismo plano que las formas de actividad práctica que antes hemos examinado. A nuestro modo de ver, la actividad teórica no es de por si una forma de praxis.

Aunque la «práctica» teórica transformc percepciones, representaciones o conceptos, y cree el tipo peculiar de productos que son las hicarsis, teorias, leyes, eteètera, carninguno de esos casos se transforma la realidad. No se cumplen en ella las condiciones que señalábamos anteriormente con respecto a la materia prima, la actividad y el resultado en el proceso práctico. Falta aquí el lulo material, objetivo, de la praxis, y por ello no consideramos que sea legitimo imblar de praxis teórica.

Lo que a nuestro micio veda caracterizarla asi es precisamente lo que hay de distintivo en la actividad teórica, ent mdiendo por ésta tanto la producción de Tiates como de conocimientos. Por sú objeto, fines, medios y resultados, la actividad teorica se distingue de la práctica. Su objeto o materia prima son las sensaciones o percepciones --es decir objetos psiquicos que sólo tienen una existencia subjetiva-. o los conceptos, teorias, representaciones o hipòtesis que tienen una existencia ideal. El fin immediato de la actividad teòrica es elaborar o transformar idenlmente, no realmente, esa materia printa, para obtener, como productos, teorias que expliquen-una realidad presente, o modelos que prefiguren idealmente una realidad futura. La actividad teórica proporciona un conocimiento indispensable para transformar la realidad, o traza fines que anticipan idealmente su transformación, pero en uno y otro caso queda interta la realidad efectiva. Las transfornaciones que lieva a cabo la actividad teóri a con relación a esta - paso de una alpótesis a una teoria, y de esta a otre coria más fundada— son transformaciones ideales: de las ideas sobre el mundo, pero no del mundo mismo, (21) Y las operaciones que el hombre lleva a cabo para producir fines o conocimientos son operaciones mentales: abstract, generalizar, acqueir, sintetizar, prever, etc. que si bien exigen un sustrato corporeo y el funcionamiento del sistema nervioso superior, no dejan de ser operaciones subjetivas, psiquicas, aunque puedan tener manifestaciones objetivas.

Por otra parte, pensamos que la admisión de una praxis teórica se halla en con-

tradicción con la crítica que Marx formula en sus Tesis sobre Feu rbach. Si recordamos el contenido de la Tesis I veremos one Marx critica a Feuc bach justamente por concebir la relación sujeto-objeto (u hombre-naturaleza) como una relación meramente contemplativi, o sea teórica. En esto radica el defecto fundamental de la filosofia Fetterbachia ia, así como del materialismo tradicional En este sentido, Marx contrapone relacion (contemplativa) teórica y práctica. Y en ese mismo sentido contrapone también en su Tesis XI la filosofia como inte pretación, es de--eir,-como teoria desligar a de la práctica. y la filosofia vinculada conscientemente a la transformación det mundo.

Esta contraposición de contemplación (teoria) y praxis demuestra que Marx, lejos de admitir la teoria como una forma de praxis, establece por el contrario una contraposición, entre um y otra. Por otra parte al distinguir claromente en su Introduceión a la critica de la economia. política, lo concreto real y lo concreto pensado, y presentar la nefividad teóricacognoscitiva, es decir, la producción do conocimientos como un proceso ascensional de lo abstracto a lo concreto - proceso que se opera en el pensar dento y que consiste en la reproducchen espiritual del objeto real bajo la forma de lo concreto pensado-, Marx señala claramente que se trata de una actividad o producción que no produce nada efectivamente, es decir no transforma la realidad. (22) Una actividad que se opera sólo en el pensamiento y que produce el tipo pe uline de objetos que son los productos do este no puede, por tanto, identificarse con la actividad práctica que llamamos praxis.

Si llamamos praxis a Li actividad práctica material, adecuada i fines que transforma el mundo -natu al y humano--, no cabe incluir la actividad teórica entre las formas de praxis ya que falta en cilas la transformación objetiva de una materia mediante el sujeto, cuyo; resultados subsisten independientement : de su netividad. (23)

Solamente subjedvizardo el concepto de praxis hasta borrar teda diferencia especatica con el de activido I en general, podriamos habiar de una praxis teórica. Pero, en cuanto que la actividad teórica de por si no modifica realmente el mundo -aunque si nuestras ideas sobre élno nos parece legitimo ablar de praxis teórica.

La actividad filosófica ransforma nuestra concepción del mundo, de la sociedad o del hombre, pero no n odifica -directa e inmediatamente- na la real. Cabria preguntarse, sin embarg , il esto es vilido para toda actividad filosofica, inclu-

Jirildo oquirila ille conclide el munco ha killy comb objets the litterpretacion, spin the Phistoffinialan, the instable con in Teckle XI the Minck subjective both potentions tlividir las filosofids, fiesde tri public de vista histórico, en filosofias que se liffillen a tritar de dar ritzon de la existente y que desembatean, como muestra palmariamente el alaterra de Hegel, en una contillación, del pensamiento con la regulad (tilosofia como aceptación del mundo), y filosofias que sirven -por su vinculación consciente con una praxis revolucionaria- a la transformación del mundo (fi-Ipsufia como instrumento teórico o guia de una transformation highana radical). Aborn blen, and policies degree que, en este ultimo caso, la actividad filosofica es ya una forma de praxis, que podriamos-UFHOMBURE professionale places teachers Y; He ha suf hal this an emeditinfing fourth lus filosoffiis en el intento platio 180, leb y se hoterella la difetencia conflutiva que Mairs established but the Posts establic entire title of olde that the Hibstilla?

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Ucia praxis.

Deschelettos, en helitter night, et con-Bideraf due mieda Billilitse teelminimente de praxis filosófica por el sillipe herlis de que una filosofia tença consecuencias practicas. Ya deciamos en nuestra introducción que todas las grancies doctrinas filosofleas las han tentdo sierapie, cii ma-For a menter Mude, had a mente directafrente, en cumus que palega-identemente de las intelictues del rilosopo, ban com-plido cierta función social. Esto vido incluso para filosotias que -como el idealismo niemin- distaban mucho de pretentief servir a in transformation election del mundo. No se trata, bues, de eso.

At plenteurnos la cuestión de et la netividad filosófica puede ser praxis de por Ni, inter recellmant it in Musoria que, vineu-Mith conseignemente a in practica, si pro-polio ser instribicato, propigo no la trimeformación de la realidad. L'ensamos prechamente en el propio nuradono como filosofia que -de acuerdo con la Tesis XI sobre Feuerbacht— time presente que se trata ho solo de Interpretar el mundo, suo de transformario. Puedo declese que la actividad therólica, en este caso, sea phais, sh birkhi pur un mamento cl - Eulitehillo etgicepitani atto heliose dedu a Este teripipo A maestro jineto, ja filosofia ni como interpretacion del mundo ni como instrumento teórico de su transformación es de por si, de un modo directo e inmediato, praxis. La filosofia marxista, siendo Hect salikinente una interpretación flentifica del mundo, respondo a necesidades

Diacticas litimatists; expless, a su vez, tha practica existente y, por otro lado, fibilita ellist lifitemente a sel guia dil una prasis MVoliteidlittill Cor ellu se aubritu ia fulition Medopita y social de una filbadia that solv filicale electrical entrante mas excluye la Utojia y trasciente sus fle-flentos purintente literaciens para ser. Eknein. La que la diferencia de las 1608thinns filbeoliche a title nighte Mara en la primera parte de su Tesis XI sobre Feuerbacil, asi como de otras austrikas socialistes es, pubs, su caracter eleminad, purb lantilen -y ho sculndallamente- el rollerbirse & 41 mislin en antelon de 14 pitals, its décir, como filasofia al Befyleis de la trimefortificion effetiva; real, del finditio, ifflyshando hal it pinala struitttionarid tuhio-rin de-in tourin:

La troria de par el —en este caso comb en cualquier otro— no transforma el mundo, ruede contribuir a su transforinación, pero paca ello tienca que sulle do ki ndsmas, y, en primer digar, tiene que ser asimulada por los que han de susgitar, con sus aclos irales, efectivos, dicha transformación. Entre la teoria y la actividad práctica transformationa se historia una labor de educación de las constituidad práctica de disconsiderados de las constituidad práctica de las constituidad práctica de las constituidad práctica de las constituidad prácticas de las constituidad práct ctencius, de organización de los medios materiales y planes concretos de acción; todo erlo como paso indispensable para desarrollar acciones reales efectivas. En este sentido, una teoria es práctica en ethinid que materializh, a través de una serie de mediaelines, id que filites sol existal Mehlhichte, comochidenta do in syntidad o anticipación ideal de su timpfortineth.

Pero si la teoria de por el no cambla al munao solo puede contribuir a transformatile justablicate comb teorie. Es deelf, la coficient de posibilidad —heresa-ria, aimque insuficiente— para transitar conscientemente de la teuria a la praetica. y, por talito, phia que la plimera sumpla ulla función fractica, es que sea propia-mente una actividad leórica —en la quo kia ingritilitatea ebattosiititia y infibioplobs at Intale Intimathentle effectiation y inditationly topshieradys—. En este Jelitido, una tilosofia vinculada a la practica, que aspira conscientemente a realizarse. lejos de estrete de un contentido propis-inchie lendico, in de possecio ch toda su liqueza. El paso de la tecria socialista de la forma utopien que tiene en Saint-Simoli: Printer & Owen, & de las doctrinas Etritibis his ulobicas Conid in ue Moses lies, a ju folma elentillea que recibu en Mark y Engels entraña, pudiéramos decir, junto a una elevación de su función prae-tica, tina elevación de su contenido teó-fico, con la particularidad da dua ambos 15 aspectos se hallan en una relación indi-Scalitiste.

La filosofia que se ve a si misma como Instrumento teórico do la praxis es teoria, v como tal no transforma real v efec-Lyamente de por si. Interpretar no es transformar. Pero de lo que se trata -- como dice Marx en la Tesis XI-- es de transformur: de ahi que la teoria hava de ser arrancada de su estado meramente teórico y, por las mediaciones adecuadas, tratar de realizarla. Pero este segundo aspecto que es vital cuando no se acepta el mundo como es y se trata de transformarlo, lejos de abolir el contenido teórico de la filosofia, o de reducirio a un merediente meramente ideológico, presupone aquet, necesariamente -at nivet de la ciencia-, como condición includible para guiar la acción. Así, pues, la actividad filosófica en cuanto tal no es praxis. Y no lo es tampoco la filosofia de la praxiso teoria de la actividad práctica del hombre en sus relaciones con la mituraleza y con etres hombres.

La concepción de la filosofía de la praxis como actividad práctica de por si es. a nuestro juicio, una concepción identista. incompatible con el verdadero concepto de la praxis que antes hemos delimitado. y entraña la vuelta a puntos de vista tilosóficos -como el de los jóvenes hegelia-

- (1) C. Mary, Tesis (I) sobre Feuribach, en C. Mark. y F. Lugeis, La biennegla alemana, fratiue, de W. Horse, Lift', Monteviden, 1958, pagina 633
- 12) Actividad es squi sinónimo de accido enfendida fanciien como aeto o conjunto de actos que modifican una materia exterior o que es inmanente al agente.
- (3) Asimismo la centradicción fundamental del modo de producción capitalista es tambiés seintenetonal, er's resultado -dire Manue Codellerste la accida de todos los agenter del sistema y del desarrollo del sistema mismo, pero no ha sido nunca et proye to de ninguna conciencia ni un fin querido por nadies, (M. Godelier, Racionnillé et mucionalité en économie, Ed. Maapero, Paris, 1966, página 79;
- illi Cf. a este respecio la carta de Fogels a J. Bimb, del 21.22 de septiembre de 1890, en la que ei primeto dice; . . La historia se hace de tal modo, que el resultado final siempre deriva de los conflictor entire muchas voluntades individuales, Tada una de las cua es, a su vez te lo que es por efecto de una munitud de condiciones espectaces de vida; son, pues, innumerables fuerzas que se cultecturen has muss con has ottas, no grupo infi-Dito de priniciogramos de fuerzas, de las que suigen ud tesultado -et aconfecimiento histórico que, a au ves, puedo considerarso producto de una potencia unica, que, como un todo, actua sin conviencia y sin voinntad ... De esto modo hasta aqui tosta la historia ha discurrido a modo de un proceso Patural y sometida también, austancialmente, a las hismas leges disanicas. Pero del hecho de que las distintes voluntades individuales .. no signican in dis que questa sur en en la contra cour eu

nos-, que va fueron criticados y superados por Mary precisamente para poder elaborar una filosofia e mo guia o listrumento teórico de la transformación de la realidad, v hacer posible asi la transformación ciectiva de és a.

La actividad filosóf en -desligada de la práctica o vinculada conscientemente a ella-, como mera interpretación o como instrumento teórico de su transformación. cultivada por intelectu des de origen burgués o de origen prolet; rio, es siempre una actividad intelectual, teórica. La diferencia cualitativa por su carácter esencial -ideológico o cientific -, o por la función que um y otra f tosofía puede cumpllr, no basta para beblar legitimamente de una praxis teórica.

En suma, la praxis e nos presenta como una actividad material, transformadora, y adecuada a fin s. Fuera de ella, queda la actividad (có lea que no se materializa, en cuanto au ces actividad emiritual pura. Pero por otra parte, no hav praxis como actividad i uramente material. es decir, sin la producc ón de fines y conocumientos que caracteriza la actividad teórica. Ello quete decir que el problema de determinar qué es la praxis requiere delimitar más a fondo las relaciones entre teoría y práctica.

una medida total, en una resultante común, no debe inferiore que estas voluntades sena igual a cero. Por el contrario, tod a contribuyen a la 10sulfante y se hallan, por tento, incluidas en clina-IC. Mark v W. Eagels, Ohr, a escouldes, on des tomos, ed. esp., tomo f. Moseu 1952, páginas 459-460.)

(5) Sobre la finalidad como categoria específica de la actividad humana y sus relaciones con la causalidad, véase mi estu lo «Contribución a la distectica de la fantidad y la causalidad», Anuatio de Filosofia, UNAM, an : I, Mévico, 1961, págic

- (6) C. Mary, El Capital, Critica de la economia politica, tradocción de W 12 mes, 3a. ed. especial, t. I. Fondo de Cultura Éconómica, México-Buenos Aires, 1964, páginas 130-13:.
- (7) Mary, El Capital, ed. esp. cit., t. I., p. 131.
- (5) Hablamos aqui de le teórico en un sentido amplio que abaren tanto la esfera de los fines como de los conocimientos. En e te sentido lo teórico su contrapone some de un melo absolute, sino relativo, como veremos en el capitulo siguiente- a lo practico. En un sentido mi e restringido, lo teórico - el dominio de la teoria- a aplica a un conjunte de conceintentas agiutinad s en torno a un principio unificador que los arti ula y sistematiza constituyendo asi un campo cie itifico dado,
- (9) C. Marx, El Capital, :, I, página 131.
- (10) C. Marx, Tesis (I) stbre Penorbach, ed. cli-

- " (11) «El trabajo es, en primer término --dice Marx-, un proceso entre la naturaleza y el hombid, profess est que fate ae tentica, regula y controla mediante su propia acción, su intercambio de materias con la naturaleza». (Fi Capital, I. pá-
- · (12) C. Marx, Prologo a la Contribución a la eritica de la economia política, en C. Marx y F. Engels, Obran esconidas, ed. esp. cit., t. I. paulnas 332-333
  - (13) C. Mark, El Capital, I, ed. cit., página 130.
- (14) Ibidem, página 131,
- (15) Ibidem, página 132.
- (10) Ibidem.

. (17) Al annilzar la concepción de Mary del proceso de trabajo en El Capital, Louis Aithusser subraja, interpretando el pasaje correspondiente, la naturaleza material de las condiciones del proceto de trabajo y el panel dominante de los medies de producción en dicho proceso. A fulcio suyo, el proceso de trabajo se balla determinado por essa condiciones materiales (set proceso de trabajo games mecanismo material se balla denominado por las leyes físicas de la naturaleza y de la tecnología»). Al mostrarse ast las condiciones materiales freequetibles del proceso de trapajo». Marx rompe con la concepción del «trabajo como escucia del hombres y con el «identismo del trabalo» que esta concepción - propia de los Manuscritos de 18:1entisha (Cf. L. Aithusser, «L'objet du Capital», en el t. Il de Life Le Capital, F. Maspero, Paris, 1905, paginos 144-149).

I. Altausser tiene razón al pronunciarse contra una eldeologia antropológica del trabajos y, por ello, procede justamente at subrayar la importancia de las condiciones materiales del trabajo, lo que le lieva a detenerse sobre todo en dos de los elementos constitutivos de dicho proceso según Marx Pero en an analisia omito por completo el estudio del tercero de ellos: la actividad adecuada a un fin, o trabajo proplamente dicho. Es esa omisión la que le permite contraponer radicalmente en esia cuestión los Manuscritos de 1844 a El Capital at reducir la concepción de la prime a obra a elc'entismo del trabajo» y la de la segunda a una «concepción materialista de la producción». A nuestro juicio, la importancia de ese terrer factor del proceso de trabajo -schalado en distinta forma tanto en los Manuscritos de 1844 como en El Capital- es la que mantiene cierta continuidad entre una y otra concepción sin que por ello se borren sus diferencias esenciales.

- (18) C. Marx, El Capital, I, ed. elt., página 130.
- (19) C. Mark, El Capital, t. I. ed. cit., página 130.

- (20) Sobre las relaciones entre el arte y el frahajo, y la concepción del trabajo actistico como eyourlon, stang mit Illern, Lau idene patottenn de Mara (Ed. Ers, México, D. F', 1965), partiquiare mente los estudios titulados et a marxismo contemporaneo y el artes y clas ideas de Mara sobre ia fuente y naturaleza de lo estético.
- (21) Ya en La Sograda Familia decian Marx V Regela; stas ideas no pueden conductr nutica mas min's do the ideas det vieus entires universal de cosas. Las ideas no pueden nunca ejecular nada. Para la elecución de las ideas hacen falla los hombres que bonçan en acción una fuerza prácticas (C. Mork y F. Engti:, La Sagrada Familia, ed. esp. cit., página 165).
- (22) c... El metodo que permite elevared de lo Shetracio a lo concicio no es utra coca que el modo como el rensumiento se apropia la concrato bata la forma de la concreto neusado. Pero no es de ninguna manera lo concreto misma.» (Contribación a la critica de la economia política, ed. francesa, Paris, 1957, pagina 165)
- (23) En ocasiones se empiea la expresión «praxis» o spiacies teories, prin designar una spractica experiffen gien ber egeren biden bir eiteleber preifite y conduce a au producto prop e un conocimientes da Althusser, Pour Mary, Parts, 1963, págira 275% En este caso, se presenta como una forma especifica de la mácilea en gineral, entendida como eproceso de transformación de una materia prima dada y determinada en un "janducio determinado, transformacion que se beva a cube por un trabaje humano determinado, utilizando medios ida producción) determinados», (Inid m. página 167). LA práctica teórica asi entendida corresponde en gran parte -- no totalmente, puesto que nosotros incluitros también en ella la producción de fines- a lo que nosotros denominados netividad teórica.

Althusser no emplea, por tarto, esta espresión en el sentido identista, lan firmemente rechazado por Marc, de producción de ideas que transforma per al intama la rendiciel. La cafuerza naimiana per autrayar el entáctic distintivo e irreconticzeble de la spractica teóricas (c'. también a esta respecto su estudio Teoria, práctica teórica y formación teórica. Ideología y tucha ideológica, en la revista Casa de las Américas, número 34, La Habana, Cuba, páginas 13-17), Sin embargo, la extension del termino «práctica» a todo tipo de relación o ap opiación del namos real, incluyendo no sólo la teórica e ldenlógica, sino tumbién la ética y la religiosa (cf. Lire Le Capital, I, página 85) hace que se borre el carácter esencial de la praxis que Morx justamente pretendió destacar (como transformación efectiva, real de un objeto reni) frente a un eldealismo de la praxica (reducción de ésta a la actividad teórica o moraly. Creemos, por ello, que el empleo del término epráctica» alli donde no se ocupera esa transformación objetiva y real induce a confusión peso al empeño en diferenciar sus formas especificas.

# Base ecomómica y superestructuras ideológicas Charles Bettelheim, Jacques Charlere

Los objetivos fundamentales perseguiplas poli todos los pales title linh intende la via del socialismo, consisten on principlo en estotzarse en realizar tanto transprintationes de tase como transformaciotres alignistrata in diag, es desir, dicitapor titla prestructuración social (y no solo remiónica), y por transformaciones ideologicas profundas; sunque hay distintas puntos de vista aberea de las idaos que puntos de vista aberea de las idaos que linda a esas diversis transfolmaciones,

En Chias so subraya con frectiencia que su tinta na consiste adla en liagrat ritima de désarcolla mas fajidos que las que pues de licalifica el capitalleino silo fariblem y sobre todo promover una fineva formación social con sus normas de comportaciones y subrilectividas especificas.

Desde el pindo de vista matxista la puesecución de ese objetivo no se debe a una opción arbitraria sino al reconocimiento de una exigencia histórica impuesta por el niver del desarrollo posible de las fuerzas productivos modernes. El reconocimiento de tal exigencia histórica significa la aceptación de que sin un cambio radical no sóbolo de las relaciones de propiedad sino tumbién del conjunto del modo de producción y de la superestructura de la sociedad las fuerzas productivas o no pueden desarrollarse o sólo se desarrollan de manera contradictoria, es decir, engendrando fuerzas destructivas crecientes tanto en el plano

Hitterlat trifino eti ti de los profilos tiorfibres. Estos últimos sõi eselavizados căfla tez fiias pri sils piri los profiletos, incluyendo la esfera del consumo.

Mas especificamente, el análisis antethe militer the el nite b malo de mudiffeion, el mudu de pro decion socialista. no puede progresar y hanteherse sin la edificación de estructur is adecuadas, es delli, farticillarnielle di felaciones sociales, abilitibes, confloitant lettos e tilents sto cipies deleciniondes. Sir superestructurats micernities, in inservention then solve in this an electricity by siciallym, byla atticination por Hallsformaciones to resigns, tanto al nivel de las relaciones de producción como a: nivel de las propias fui reas productivas, Estas últimas, en efecto, corren el peligro the progressir ends ver et i mayor lentitud si no encarnan con rapid z las actitudes y reimportantierito que exig : el desarrollo de la sociedad socialista y, sobre todo, si dichas actitudes, conducta; y sistemas de vulores adecuados tiende i no a fortificarse sino a estancarse, en f: vor de actitudes, conductas y sistemas de valores que caracterizan a las formas s ciales anteriores y que conservan todavia una base objetiva en las condiciones mater ales, mientras el nivel de las fuerzas productivas no se haya elevado suficientemente.

Por lo tanto, la cuestión que se plantea es la de las reluciones en tre la base eco-

nómica y las superestructuras correspondientes. Según la interpretación mecanicista de dicho problema, se puede pensar que toda forma de producción engendra en última instancia nuevas actitudes, nuevos sistemas de valores, una nueva ideología y un hombre nuevo.<sup>19</sup>

Por el contrarlo, la interpretación dialéctica del problema nos lleva a pensar que si el progreso de una forma de producción (es decir, de sus fuerzas productivas y de sus relaciones de producción) constituye la condición necesaria de la transformación de la superestructura, esta última, dentro de ciertos limites, tiene un dinamismo propio y, sobre todo, que puede ejercer una acción regresiva sobre la misma base económica. No es inútil recordar aquí algunas de las interpretaciones que se han formulado de ciertos textos de Marx y Engels.

Una interpretación estrecha de algunos párrafos del Manificsto Comunista o del Anti-Duhring ha originado a veces una interpretación mecanicista que, sin embargo, es contraria a los análisis globales que nos han dejado Marx y Engels. En efecto, éstos incistieron siempre en el carácter global de las transformaciones sociales y, por tanto, en la interacción de los diferentes elementos cuya suma constituye la totalidad de una formación social.

Por ejemplo, Engels en su libro sobre El origen de la familia, de la propoedad privada y del Estado, ha puesto de relieve las profundas influencias que pueden tener ciertos elementos de la superestructura ideológica sobre la evolución social. Así, cuando analiza la incapacidad de la sociedad esclavista para dar lugar directamente a un nuevo método de producción favorable al desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas, insiste en el "desprecio hacia el trabajo productivo" heredado de la sociedad esclavista, y que representa un freno al desarrollo.

Enzels escribe: "La esclavitud... al morle, dejó detrás de si su aguijón venenoso bajo la forma de proscripción del trabajo productivo por los hombres libres. Tal es el callejón sin salida en el cual se encontraba el mundo romano: la esclavitud era económicamente imposible, y el trabajo de los hombres libres estaba moralmente proscrito. La primera no podía ya y el segundo no podía aún ser la forma básica de la producción social. La única salida posible era una revolución radical. (2)

En ese texto podemos ver claramente de que manera una actitud ("el desprecio hacio el trabajo productivo"), so convierte en un obstiteulo al desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas y cumo Lingels estima que sólo una revolución completa podía transformar suficientemente el elemento de la superestructura para que fueran posibles nuevos progresos.

Ya que hemos recordado el anterior texto de Engels, que tiene su equivalente para otras épocas en multitud de análisis marxistas, " no es inútil recordar igualmente que Engels prolonga su análisis de la revolución que tuvo lugar entre el quinto y el-noveno siglos de nuestra era, ya que setrata esencialmente de una revolución quo se efectuó al nivel de las superestructuras ideológicas y que adaptó estas últimas a las exigencias de las nuevas fuerzas productivas. (9)

Engels subraya que a lo largo de los cuatro riglos durante les cuales tuyo lugar dicha revolución, no labo prácticamente ningún progreso, ni en las fuerzas productivas, ni en las relaciones de producción. A pesar de los grandes cambios a que dio lugar la caida del Imperio Romano y las invasiones de las tribus germánicas, encontramos bajo una nueva etiqueta, las viejas formes de prophedad y las-viejas relaciones de producción.

Escribe Engels: "Así, pues, parecia como si al cabo de cuatro siglos la masa de la población hubiese vuelto a su punto de partida". " Sin embargo, añode inmediatumente, se había avanzado, porque aun cuando las clases sociales seguian siendo casal las mismas, "los hombres que formaban estas clases habían cambiado"."

La referencia a estos análisis sólo en apariencia nos aleja de nuestro tema, el del lugar especialmente importante que so atribuyo en China a la adhesión de las masas al<sub>s</sub>alstema de valores, d. actitudes y comportamiento que corresponde a las exigencias de la construcción de la sociedad socialista.

Por otra parte, los anteriores análisis nos conducen a rechazar ciertas interpretaciones mecanicistas de las relaciones entre la base económica y la superestructura, Incluso autores que, por lo demás, abordan buen número de problemas desde un punto de vista dialéctico, han sugerido interpretaciones de ese tipo.

Asì, hey una cierta interpretación mecanicista en el capitulo 2 del Tomo I del Tratado de Economía Politica de Oskar Lenge. En ese texto, la eliminación de la no-correspondencia entre las relaciones de producción, por una parte, y el nivel de desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas y el carácter de esas fuerzas, por la otra, apa-

En la misma obra, se d'ee: "Es la neción de la segunda ley fondamental de la sociologia tudient restablece la correspondencia entre la superestructura y las estigencias de la mieva base econômica..."(4)

Tales formulaciones sugieren la acción unilateral de las fuerzas productivas cobre las relaciones de producción, y de la base econômica sobre la superestructura. El mismo esquema aparece er la página 28 -de la obra mencionada; en ese esquema, las "Hechas" sólo significan que hay un movimiento de "abajo hacia arriba".

> Un corolado lónico de esta concención en la idea del "carácter comercador tanto do la base económica como de la superestruetura", " Una y otra son vistos esencialmente como obstáculos al progreso de las facerzas productivas y como algo incapaz de adaptarse sin retraso, bajo la acción de las dos "leyes fundamentales de la sociologia".

> Aun cuando Oskar Lange reconoce que el cambio de una forma social a otra constituye un proceso maléctico, porque resultade la solucion de una serie de contratueciones, la descripción que ofecce de dichoproceso es unilaferal. Se limita a invertir la dialéctica ingeliana, pero deja escaparla especificalade de la dade; tica històrica. Esta última se desarrolla a través de contradicciones no solo operada, sino pensodas. Por otro lado, las con cadicciones no se resuelven por la intervención de una "ley" abstracta, sino por a intervención de las clases o capa escelules que integenn oblettvamente una de los polos de la contradicción principal de une época, y que toman conclenela de ella.

> Sólo asi puede nacer una ideología o una conciencia revolucionaria, es decir, los Plementos de una nueva seperestructura. La superestructura, lejos de tener un enracter conservation, conduct por el contrario, a la transfermación de la base económica y a un nuevo progreso de les fuerzas productivas, 101

> Cuando se analizar en términos marxistas las transformaciones de la superestruetura que condicionan un nuevo progreso de las fuerzas productivas, con frecuencia se consideran esenciales en el análisis las transformaciones politicas y juridicas, la sustitución de un tipo de Estado por otro, del dominio de una c'ase por otra, de relaciones de propiedad y de producción nor otras. En efecto; se trata de transforma-

clones decisivas, va au permiten la sustitución de una vieja s merestructura que obstaculiza el desarrollo de las fuerzos productivas, por una nueva, mejor adantada aece desarrollo. Sin en bargo, tales transformaciones son posibl s porque las clases unios deminadas han rechazado la ideologia anterior (que les l'abia hecho aceptar el antigao orden de coe is) y se han adherido, al menos en lo es neia', a una nueva idoologia que expresa r lejor las exigencias de las fuerzas product vas y de las relaclones de producción correspondientes, es decir, las exigencias de la base econômica. En este caso se lince evidente que la idenlogia no es un factor de resistencia al cambio, sino, por el contrario, uno de sus elementos motores.

El papel de la ideol gia no se limita a la face més aguda de cua transformación se al. De beche toda atteva forma social sólo puede desarrollarse si la ideología que exige su funcionar ilento es crela vez más profundamente, a ideología dominante. Así, según la neturaleza y el grado de dominación y penetración en las masas de una ideologia dada, ésta puede frenar el desarrollo de las fue zas productivas o, por el contrario, contril uir a su desarrollo.

Las indicaciones precedentes no sólo ticnea un interés teórico. En efecto: si se subraya de una manere unilateral el papel de la base económica, e distirá la tendencia a Impulsar esencialme de el progreso de esta base, y en particular, el progreso de las fuerzas producti as, el surgimiento de una superestructura ideológica adecuada (en virtud de la ") :gunda ley fundamental de la sociología ').

Por el contrario, al sereconoce que hay una ngción reciproen entre la base y la superestructura, al mi-mo tiempo que se impulsa directamente el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas (por la política económica), se buscará ta abién en las masas el progreso de la ideolo; ía que corresponde a la nueva base económica, en particular a través de la educación. Esta última debe procurar que de apare can las actitudes y comportamientos he edados del pasado y sustituirles por acitudes, comportamientos y sistemas nuevos de valores, correspondientes a las extrencias mismas del desarrollo de las fuerzo i productivas.

Parece indispensable reconocer que este papel de la educación : de la ideología es tanto más necesario, cuando más avanzadas estén las relaciones de producción y propiedad, establecido por un proceso revolucionario, sobre el nivel de desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas en un país dado.

El avance (ii) del réi imen político y su-

contradicciones por un comportamiento

cial sobre el nivel local del desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas, da lugar, en efecto, a un tipo particular de contradicción, a una contradicción que favorece el progreso rápido de las fuerzas productivas, con la condición de que esté influida correctamente y conscientemente dominada, Esta última forandación no alguifica que cólo a través de un desarrollo de la conciene'a se encuentra asegurado el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas (12), sino más bien que, en ese caso, la conciencia de las relaclones reales de producción y de las contradicciones que pueden caracterizarias. ant come la capacidad de dominar estas

> lidades que los romanos habían perdido ... ique eran sino los rasgos carneteristicos de les harbares det esta le saterier de la hertistie, bie fritten de ait einefffiiclen geit

adrenado, son necesarias ai progreso de

conciencia y la capacidad deben expresarse

no sólo en términos de conceptos y cono-

cimientos, sino también en forma de orga-

nización y actitudes que interpreten de

manera apropiada for sistem as de valures

y de accion. Si faltan estos ú timos, las

categorias conceptuales y el conocimiento

o la conciencia no son mas que abstrac-

mni volver a riertas caracteristicas espe

elficas de la construcción del secialismo

Sólo después de este largo redeo node-

Para ser socialmente significativas, la

las fuerzas productivas.

ciones sin eficacia socia).

en China.

(Ibid., pfigina 245), y precisa: "Lus habltos de gentiles, las supervisencias, vivas entre clius, de los tiempos del derecho materno" v sus "comunidades de las pequefias cludades".

Aqui. Engels subrava el aporte decisivo de lus instituciones, de lus ideas y de lus qual'dades morales caracteristices del "estudie superior de la barbane" a la revolución que se detatrollo entre el quinto y el novono sigios. En tanto que la sociedad surgida del antiguo esclavismo habia peidido joda su vitalidad, ablo barbaros eran canaces de reinvenerer un mundo servit que cuitts una cevilización morihanda", (Enge's, fild. pagera 286).

- Oskar Lange, alconomie Politique, Presses Universitaire de France, Paris, 1962, XVII-403, página 42.
- 8. Ibid., pagina 42.
- 9. Ibid., página 43: cf. también páginas 39 a 11 e. igualmente, piginas 13 a 48 de la Ittimttim trietm.
- 10. Dicho progreso revolucio arro es descrito brevemente y de manera parcial por Oskar Lange en la obra chada (piginas 47 y 48), pero sin demostrar que en esto consiste el proceso teal de toda transfor. mación social radical, ya que tal pueceso implica necessrismente una acción revolucionatia que no se presenta sino cuando ciertos elementos de la survirertitura, las ideas, las actitudes, etchters, se har integrado y encarnado en la conciencia de elase revoluc'onerie", y en la forma conereta de organizaciones a través de las ules esta constencia de clase toma cuer-. y se express.
- 11. Según la expresión tien conscida de Levia, cuando habia de la Rusia Birvietira comu un "pais politicamente avanzado y económicamente atrasado".
- 12. Tal interpretación parece ser la de Ernesto Che Guevara en au artieut, "La planifica. ción socialista, su significado", en "Cuba Socialista", jurio de listi, páginas 13 a 24, cf. página 17 in fine,

- 1. En realidad, la misma interpretación mecanicista de las reinclores entre los diferentes niveles de la vida social, ha lles Audio a algunos martistas a pentre que el progreso de las fuerzas productivas es suffciente para engendrar todas las condiciones de la transformación revolucio. naria de un modo de producción, mientras que en realidad dicho progreso es la condición básica de esa transformación; finalmente, la transformación no se produce sino a través de las contradicciones sociales y de la acción política que engendran estas últimas, es decir, por una acción consciente de los hombres.
- 2. F. Engels. El origen de la familia, la propiedad y el Estado, Ediciones en Lengues Extranjeras, 1952, Mescú, Tomo II, på-
- 3. Es conocida la célebre finac de Lenin: "las ideas se convierten en fuerzas cuando prenetran en las masas". (Lenin, Obras Completas, Tomo XXI. Ediciones Sociales Internacionales, 1930, página 340).
- 4. En efecto, las ideas se convierten en fuerzas positivas cuardo corresponden a las exigencias del desarrollo social, es decir. at filvel de toa fuerzoa moducilvaa y de las relaciones sociales existentes o en proceso de formación,
- 5. F. Enge's, El origen de la familia... op. cit., pagina 283.
- 6. (Ibid., nágina 281). El análisis que presenin Engels de esta "transformación de los hombres" ("amos y esclavos") es extraordinulamente intere ante. Engels autrava que los hombres de la Europa occidental del siglo noveno, no er habian forpondo "con la decadencia de una civilización aponizonte, sino entre los dolores del parto de una civilización nueva"

Esta "nueva civilización", "en plena vita-lidad de desarrollo", debia sus caracteris. thus a les instituciones, actitudes, comperfamientos e ideas especificas que introduieron has tribus gernanicas.

Hablando de esas tribus y del origen de su contribución revolucionaria, en el preciso mntido de la transformación de los hombres, Engels escribet

"Su expanded y su valentia personales, su espiritu de liberiad y su lastinto densocrático... en una palabra, todas las cua-

## LA PALMA DELA MANO

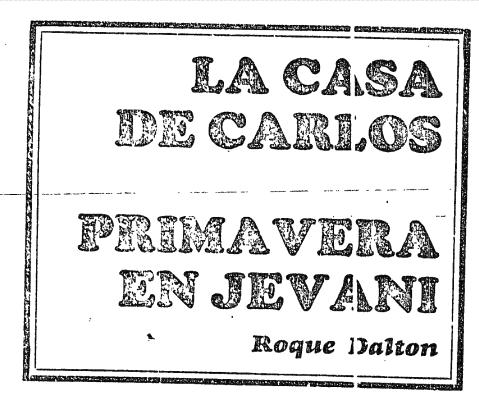
José Lezama Lima

La palma de la mano sobre el río. La palma paso a paso, hacia mí, leyéndome. Narciso mascado por la niebla ascendente, vuelven los dioses descensores. Orfeo y Stephanophorophoro. El indice demuestra, señala la inflexible Hanura de la nieve, demuestra, El indice demuestra la carreta sobre un hilo. la diagonal con cuerpo de cocodrilo y cabeza de gavilán, el anillo de oro en el tumor de la luna. La mano se extiende sobre la llanura de nieve, la palma de la mano acompasa la boga del rio. La carreta conduce un canoso reloj de pared. Jearo con dos guadañas. Saturno se come las alas de cera. Se extiende, demuestra, se dela leer, learo, ya caldo, nadando, habla con el Resucitado sentado en el légamo. El vencido por el sol regresa con las estaciones y el que triunfa de la muerte se vuelve a morir. Es un bodegón de cebolla, manzana y amapolas, El aire está exprimido en el puño que se cierra, el arador por la palma de la mano deja el reminiscente batido y batiliojas. el desco paliducho, la scrpiente, el doble del comienzo, el truchimán vindicativo, circulo que golpea en las narices. La capota caída se mide por su sombra. Icaro vencido y el Resucitado vencedor, el Resucitado esperando la muerte y el Icaro eterno relator. En su sangre el laberinto y el torete oscuro luchando con el tigre dormido.

2 Outen the bruces acomparate en la chriedad del reloiero Arrugado, puro detesto, cara de rompeolas. Ill Principe de Prage, relojero sin desebs. dlibgado en el reloj de agua, ola bot ola ola sin succión. ola para olos Ill thempo caminando detrás de las pestañas tono elefante) casquetes, medialuñas, firsolvidatida monta lloricones. verde portezuela y amarillo prestidigitador, -abrian el bostezo en la cantina-escandinava: un penique nor cada bostezo v va de contra el bigotillo para el perroquete circulante. pero el tiempo no es como el aguacero hile table les grietas y baldea el puente parabólico de la guitarra. Tenenne que medie el tiempo por el valven de los ojos y cerrar los ojos y el murmillo que nos va devorando tuinulo nos silmerglinos di la madre de carbon. Suincialdes totta indecidia judde llegar a ser eulpa, tan pronto surge la pelifemaida del otro. Jos murtillaxos desconchados en el calculo de la reglatencia combrenda. Los entorchados del fusilamiento, el pez egipcio sallando al sol, nueden hacer el pecado inocente. El lle-lae fannado es pecador en 1819 y después es inocente en Osiris. III finete escita pera sin testes y la franja celeste rompe el cantaro de las bodas. Así seguinios colocando la drillos en el miliro y sobre los muros cascos de botella, así nos cosimos la oreja en el cancan.

tint





Carlos Jurado sufrió tante en su infancla, que en cuanto se cará escorió como hogar aquella casa de la zona 12 del DF, adornada con una cabeza de caballo en el portón. Era una cara caorme, dividida en innumerables pisitos, buhardillas y simples rincones, donde las veraneras y loa facintos parecian engordar de humedad y de sol matutico, con o pupilas de metrona provinciana que llevase una alacena repleta de mermelada de grosella en vez de corazón y quien, luego de la merienda de las diez, hubiese gastado un cuarto de hora en consun h su puro de mariguana que le abriria el apetito para el almuerzo. En el laberrate de sus jardines y corredores se perdió hace años Chaflân, aquel olvidado cómico de cine me-Nicano, del cual tuvieron luego que decir que había muerto, ahogado o apoplégico, en el extranjero. Precisamente la mujer de Carlos, Chichai, encontraria sa esque-24 leto bigotudo detrás de una maceta de ge-

ranios en marzo de 1965 y, a fin de res. catarlo para haccelo clavar en la gran cruz de la biblioteca dormitorio, tuvo que disputarlo scriamente durante toda una mañana a una vasta juuria de cucarachas doradas, Carlos paradólicamente, se habia enamorado a p linera vista de las rejas españolas que ado naban muchos de los ventanales interiores de la casa, porque le recordaban las de San Ceistóbal de Las Casas y las de su propio hogar allú, que por cierto le servian de jaula-prisión cuando lo castigaban por mojar la cama a los ocho nños de ca'ad, exponiéndolo a las miradas de los trans úntes que marcha-.. ban friolentamente a misa, con aquel cartel autocritico colgado del pecho: "Soy meón y cagón". Carl se munca perdonó a su familia la imputación calumniosa del segundo pecado. Aquilla casa, para empezar a decir algo fun ional a su respecto, era deliciosa de habi ar, tal esos sueños que so nos repiten de cuando en cuando y

de no se qué, cuyos definitivos perfiles y texturas venimos tan sólo a comprender 23 horas antes de morir. Hablamos, desde luego, para personas que han nacido o viven en el Hemisferio Norte. Era eso si, una casa enemiga del invierno. Cuando llegaban las lluvias, el caballo del portón se volvia rojo de ira y desde debajo de las tejas surgian miles de tentaculillos vibrátiles, renatados en diminutos paragillas color sangre azul que formaban una capecie de pieura monumental que rechazaba el agua y convertia las calles adyacentes en Niágaras de barrio. Las paredes echaban una pelusa lanosa de un continetro de espesor, lo cual no les Impedia, sin embargo, tiritar en las madrugadas, derrumbando en los interiores reproducciones de Siqueiros, depósitos de agua bendita, diplomas de Abogados y Dentistas, Desde sus patios, ventanas, claraboyas, no se podia ver nunca la luna en esa temporada, aquatic esplendiese. llena, en las escampadass para ello habia que cruzar la calle. De allí que algunos opinen que, además de la ricura aquella, la casa se erigia entonces una cúpula invisible que para el ojo humano no detenia sino los rayos de la luna. Porque las estrellas se miraban lo mismo. Y los pájaros. En el invierno cumbiaba en la casa el tono del eco hasta adoptar el de un viejo bajo acatarrado impostando la voz con pésimo oficio tentral para demostrar ira patética. No importaba entonces que la voz original fuera del piño de una familia de violinistas, acostumbrado a hacer sus requerimientos fundamentales a fuerza de chilidos especialmente agudos, o de una señorita asustacita, ubicable en algún Buró Político de la Orden Tercieria del Santisimo Sacramento, en plena reacción oral ante los sustos curativos del hipo. No es que la casa se volviese en aquel tiempo incómoda o agresiva. Todas aquellas transformaciones poseian su propla gravedad y hermosura y más bien construlan un mundo especial de seres objetos y fenómenos relacionados entro si con una disciplinada, responsable armonio, similar a la de las pasiones shakespearenns, que, desde jurge, podrlamos

nos van configurando poco a poco un ideal

tas, unicamente con el argumento de que toda ella estaba basada en el odio al in. vierno. Y hablar luego con toda hipocresia de las necesidades de la producción de cerentes, de los pastos para el ganado de leche, de las sequins en el Brasil y sus hombrunas concomitantes. Hasta alli somos capaces de llegar, estéticamente cobardes como, de vez en cumdo, somos. Oh, queridas lectoras, pero ¡qué indiscutibilidad reenia sobre la belieza de aquella casa cuando llegeba la primavera! Ni los espiritus más audaces serian capaces de racionalizar a primera vista la absoluta integralidad de la misma y más bien comenzarian por confundicia con una simple, aunque esplendente, paz, un orden de integración a los dias en que la naturaleza se despereza y se lava la cara, una -con el perdón de astedes y en última instancia-táctica. Por el contrario, la casa en primavera era la casa como nunca, lógicamente cerrada sobre si, poblada de innumerables datos que nos decian de surelación directa cen lo Absoluto, fulgurante en medio de una sequedad de agua dura, como una esmeraida o una espada pulimentada para muestrario, soberbia en fin, como una bailarina de dieciscis años cuando se incorpora del iccho sobre la segunda hora de amor y nos deja, mientras se mete en el cuarto de baño para sentarse en el bidet, con una mano en alto, lánguida y expectante a la vez, como en el instante de iniciar el Pas de Quatre. y nos deja, decia, felices, pero con una bolita de duda entre las manos que de pronto comienza e crecer hasta tomor un tamaño tal que nos vemos abismados a iniciar con ella (o sea, la ex-boilta de duda), angustiados, un nuevo cuerpo a cuerpo con el que no contábamos, que a lo mejor no nos permitirá ese cuarto episodio, el que decimos preferir por cuanto nos permite conocer desue ahora las urgencias de los placeres de la madurez y cuya misma posibilidad se noe torna de pronto problemática porque Ella nos ha llamado con suavidad desde el baño y nos ha dicho que no enementra la llave del agua caliente, pero à pesar de todo nos quiere mucho y además va a pedirnos que 25

objetar, en uso de una morellelad agnafies-

nos asomemos porque se le anteja vernos desnudes un poquitin. Cemo un joven jefe de Estado Mayor que dirige, antes que nadie, la batalla. Poro ma parece que habiábamos de alguien, en algún lugar da México. Y como momentáneamente no sé

si so trataba do alguna referencia, en algún sentido, política, permitaseme que haga un parentesia preventivo para ublcarme en mi nor asi estado de responsabilidad. Alguna de ustedes podría ayudarme, digo yo.

#### PRIMAVERA EN JEVANI

Colores andrégines, una verdadera Patagonia de colorga, acceli intes, antitrionas de la duda, impermeable: a la mayor voracidad, erganizadamente milvaica, mandueables como una neo emfonia japonesa escuchaba junto al sol que te ha despertado de la más larga noche de amor. Los pajarillos no temen de Cawaldo Barreio Bi de mi, posiblemente nos confunden con dos obreros de las fábricas de embutidos de Piaga. Por el contratio, silban sobre nuestras caperas valsos para Banda Municipal y nos hacen avergorgarnos (yer., gonzosa vermienza) de los critos de nuestres urraces y mestros querques, de la ehachalaquena de las bandadas de porices, de la pescozada sonora del azacuan herido en tiempo de frio. "A las sels de la mañana no va blen la corvera --- nos dice Ingra al traer los tatros humosos. Es, pues, aste, un neligroso jugar. Como para decir, a la hora del crepusculo (nunque es ann demania la temprano para penser an el, estimadas todas las cautelas); "La vide, en general, ha sido bella". P.celaamente ayer, después de discutir sobre la executa carga rexual de la literatura madema, visitamos una grania de cerdas, Veterinarios con gabacras blancas exami. naban a los gigantescos animales rosquos ean estetoscopios respetantes, a la vez que conmovedores, mientras demandaban de montros que no habiáremos en voz alta. Antes de entrar, nos habian cubierto el Fortro con horales de gasa, para evitar que nuestros microbios personales se quedaren alli. Se nos dilo que el lugar estaba

incluso niciado de las carreteras y las vias de ferrocarrit, pue todo reida extraño asusta infinitamente a los cerdos, los haco perder peso y los Liedo matar del corazón. Nunca vi cer os con más aspecto de hijo de puta que estos. Son jamones vivientes, con horril les venitas agules por todos lados, insolen es, idénticos a Monseñor Francisco C: stro v Ramirez, un exageradamente sob arbio obispo del oriento de mi país. Oswal to Bacreto, de pronto y sin advertirmelo, emitto el más agudo alarido que recuero y haber pido en los últimos cinco años. El desconcierto cundió como deria un novelista hondureño. sobre todo porque les cordes comenzaron a mostrar sintomas e a angustia que pronto se transformaron el una especie de ataque de asma colectivo. Los veterinarlos corrian espantados le aqui hacia alia y nuestro guia, absolutamento furloso y tembión, le dijo a Oswajdo: "La regia aqui es el silencio", "Yo suclo gritar -contesto este- say venezolano". "Al pala que fueres haz o que vieres" -citó. popular, pero no n'enos tensamente, el guia, "Cuando Uds, I egar, o Venezuela no los obligamos a gri ar" -- semenció Os. waldo importurbable andes do quo yo lo sacara cusi a empu mes del lugar. Cast vomité de la risa, Como cuando vi aquel rotulo en una calle ca Sautiago de Chilet "Zorobah I Galeno, sustre militar". Aunque ahora no recuerro lo que tal anuncio tenia de gracioso. Os valdo pago, no obstante, su delito: ano he sono que lo habian echado para a rás en sus estudios

y que se encontraba de nuevo en cuarro año de secundaria, iniciado un examen final de trigonometria sin saber ul siquiera promunciar la palabra enteto. Despertó sudando en plena madeug da y me ha despertado también para pascar un poco y buscar cerveza. Entonces es que yo he decidido hablar sobre la primavera. Espoca del año en que florecen hasta los futbolistas, como todo el mundo sabe. Y que en Checoslovaquia se transforma en una orden edilicia para bañarse entre las truchas o buscar hongos y muchachas deserviria de secundada de la como delle la para bañarse entre las como de la como de

nuos najo ei soi que us junos dei nosqua dejan bajar al suclo. Mañana volveremos a Praga con la cara quemada por ese sol. Oswaldo Barreto y yo debemos salir de estos lugares lo más pronto posible, so pena de ponernos a tener hijos rabios con Zdenas y Janas y engordar a fuerza de grandes filetes, algodomoros melocotones y fresas con crema, hasta olvidar que alguien está muriendo mal en nuestra vieja casa, preguntando por nosotros con perenteriedad. Viva esta primavera, sin embargo.

# DEBATE LBERTO MORAVIA

"L'Expresse" de Roma organiză, recientemente, un debate entre el eseriter Alberto Moravia y los estudiantes Massimiliano Puksas, Sergio Pétruccioti y Duccio Staderini, quinto año de Arquitectura; Valerio Veltroni, primer año de Filosofia, y Oreste Sealzone, tercer año de Filosofia. El temat del debate se centra en la critica y en la eposición a esta última generación de fittele, teoles contra aquellos que se diem izquierdistas y contra aquellos que dominer el mundo de la cultura oficial. Este debate polémico pone de manifecto las contradicciones entre ideologia y vida práctica de algunos intelectuales.

Moravia: Yo pertenezco a ese tipo de proletario que se llama a si mismo artista. Los objetos que yo fabrico son novelas y drimas, o sea, que logro crear de la unda, con mis manos o mejor dicho con inl mente, algo que untes no existia, y lo vendo, Si estaviera en la China no pourfacolocue nels productos porque no hay demanda, en la c'hana de hoy, para productos como los mass. En Italia esa demanda existe parel dimente; de todos formas yovendo estos productos a quien los pagaregin las leves del mercado, porque, como he dicho, vivo de un trabajo en un peis, que es Italia. No podria cofaborar en diarios partidarios pues no pertenezeo a partido alguno, es decir tengo mis propias ideas que, en electas ocasiones, preden o no coincidir con los de algan partido. Si yo colaborara con Unità (Organo del Par-

tido Comunista), por ejemplo, no podria e cribir todo lo que se me ocurriera; y por otra parte, si blea actualmente no tendria diticultad en compartir la linea de Unità con respecto a Viet-Nam, durante veinte años en car ; o (hasta el XX congreso) el stalinismo me habria impedido colaborar en forma absoluta. De manera : que yo publico mis n webs en el Corriere della Sera, Sin embergo, ustedes no encontraran en el Cor iere della Sera una sola palabra en favor del sistema existente hoy en Italia.

Scalzone: Quisiera recordarle a Moravia que cualquier obra lit raria, cualquier produero intelectual es ca hecho politico. Ignorar todo eso significa hacer ya una elección política, entrar en el juego de los intereses creados, en otras palabras integrarse. Publicando nevelas en el Corriere della Sera, cualquier, que sea su contenido, usted, Moravia, está temando una posición política bien definida,

Mornvin: No más que cealquier proleturio en un regimen contrallata, ¿Por que entonces les pintores deberian eximirse de esa neuración? Por qué los profesores? Por qué les arquitectes, o les directores de coe" ¿Por que los obreros que tra-Infac supongamos, in una fábrica de armer?

Scalzene: En efect), nosotros no proponemos como modele la figura del obrero esclavizado, sino la dei obrero que se libera de la esclavirud. El objero puede liberarso politicamente, volvién lose revolucionario

militante. El escritor, en cambio, manipula material intelectual y a riemplo identifica y limita au actividad en el acto de ew. lblr.

l'etruccioli: El obrero dentro del sistema, es un esclavizado. El intelectual, en el momento en que acepta moverse dentro del aparato de la cultura dominante, acepta un rapel une no es el del ecciavizado: re Vuelve un intermediario entre la clare que està en el poder y los consumidores, Cuando, buta vender su producto, él usa como -medios de comunicación justamente nouellos carales que constituyen la fuerza y la continuidad de la cultura dominante. entonces está osumiendo una posición clara... prescindiendo-del-contenido-de-cus

Scalzone: En otros terminos, no se trata sólo del contenido o de las ideas, sino de la función que el libro pasa a asamir en la estructura econômica.

Moravia: En un sistema expitalista los editores son capitalistas y el escritor es un proletario al haual que cualquier etco que está en condiciones de ser aproyecha-, do (y a menudo lo es), y el libro es un producto a ser consumido. Si ustedes aficman que el arte no es expresión sino producto, entonces, no pueden pretender que el escritor sea un intelectual, o sea un creader con privilegies y responsebilida. des mayores que los demás. Deben en camble admittr que es um especie de artesano, o cen un proletario, flay contradicción entre el papel que instedes le exigenal intelectual, y el valor de producto que le atribuyen al arte. l'or otra parte, habria que ver si el producto literario está hecho para el consumo o para la representación. Hay um gum diferencia entre la industria cultural y la expresión artistica. La primera produce un arte de élite, que en los paises capitalistas obedece a las leyes del beneficio y en los países comunistas, a las leyes del Estado: es lo mismo, por lo menos para los fines del arte.

En Occidente existe el limite del bene. fleso; en Ociente el de la propaganda, So trata siempre de un arte de élite. O rea una literatura que tiene que ser consumidu, no importa donde, en el tren o en los bancos de las escuelas. Nunca revolución alguna quiro eso. Las revoluciones enferen la libertad de la expresión artistien. Es dech, cons'derando que para urtodes los contenidos (o sea la critica del poder) no ecentan, guieren la libertad del lenguale.

El escritor que no quiero ser intermodierlo entre las cluses Commantes y el

público puede encontrarse operando en tres situaciones históricas diferentes. Si la altunción lo permite, o ca los tiempos son contains, parede hacer arte de cuals quier tipo; al los tiempos apremian debera abandonar la representación y la poesía para el elenyo, el articulo; finalmente, il los tiempos no de en otra adernativa, delara de ser escritor, hembre de cultura, y rera el ciudadana que defiende su libertad con un fuell. Altera yo les pregunto: Jon cuál de estra situaciones nos encontramos hoy? En mi opinión padamos trebajar tedavia con un margen bastanto emplio, en Italia por lo meros, como para hacer representación actistica aunque, como sabemos, es ambicua de por si. Cuando los tiempos apremian ciertamento la poeda ya no aleanza: se necesita la publicación periodistica. Cuando finalmente emplezan a entrar los nezis en la casa de uno (como me paró a mi) entonces es necesaria la lucha armoda.

Petruccioli: Me purece cue la diferen. clación de Moravia entre el momento del nrtista, del periodista y del ciudadano, vuelve a presentar el error que ha existido en la cultura izouerd'sta en los últimos veinte años, ¿Que significa individualizar tres niveles de integración para un intelectual que opera en el interior de un cierto régimen? Significa procurarle una protección ideológica.

Scatzone: Significa durie la posibilidad de considerarse inocente cumdo vende las novema al Corrière en nombre de la busaucda estilistica y comprometido cuando. tirma un cartel por la paz en nombre de sus recuerdos de la Recistencia. Significa darle la posibilidad de jugar en dos. m: 45.

:Donde purdo reculhir --dice Moravia-, que capai puedo utilizar, que mo dele ser plenamente libre? Si vo escribiera en Unitá no podria criticar por ejemn'o una priicula sovictiva como Natacha. Por lo tanto, escribo en el Corriere della Bria.

Scalzone: Esa forma de inzonar refleja la persopulided del intelectual de izquierda de la década del 50. Reficia la psicología de cierta generación de Intelectuales de izatterda para los cuales el compromiso politico ha sido exclusivamente actividad de registencia, que es alzo muy diferente de una organica actividad revolucionaria. 1No le nerece, Moravia, que usted se està quedando estérilmente atado a ese mun-

. Horavia: Creo que no sey extraño a lo que está pasando airtdedor de mi. Antes 23 de la guerra tenionea el fascismo. Después de la guerra, la lucha de clases. Hoy tenemos la civilización industrial o de asconsumos. Hoy, a pesar de que siguen existiendo las clases y las fachas de clase, me interesan principalmenteslos males de la civilización industrial.

Veltroule Vo qui iera habbar de nuestra altración de universitarlos, de nuestra policimien. Nosotros nos damos crenta de qui la miversidad, en la sociedad occidental, sólo sirve para proveer les técnicos que contribuyen al fortalecimento de la estructura cepitalista. No es instrumento de libertad, no sive para sustituir la recepción policial con el libre juego intelectual. Por eso critécimes tanto a un determinado tipo de hondre de cultura. Ciertos intelectuales para nosotros son alimbiemente agentes, finjor representar a la izquierda, pero en realidad no hacen otra cosa que servir il statema.

Moravia: La relación entre arte y politica no es ten sample como urtedes creen. Cuando escribia Glind'herenti, por ejemplo, yo era prácticomente moditico. Sin embargo tedo el mundo vio ahi una denuncia política.

Studerint: Mire schor Moracia, a mi no me interesa cómo usted organiza sus relaciones con la sociedad. Sólo me preocupo de que usted no trate de justificarlas ous no frate de salvar su alma, como han estado haclendo los intelectiviles de izquierda en les últimos veinte nãos. Han conclidade la que no es concidable. Han repetido a cada instente. "Sev un comunista, coy na marvirta y pen la tanta no estay de neuerdo con esta sociedad", Pora ensemble agregations "Pero data on ta sociedad en que vivo y la actividad que vo puedo desarrollar en ella es el arte". En Ofras palabras han reservade para si mismos una intervención que no cambia nada. Es una manera de lotegrarse, sunque sea una manera un poco hipócrita.

Meravia: Vo no desce salvar mi alma aqui en Italia, ni en Rusia, n en Estados Unidos ni en ninguna otra parte,

Veitroni: Usted dijo que la autogestión de las fábricas por parte de los obreros y el aprovechamiento de los obreros, aun bajo un dueño lluminado son la misma cosa. Como comunista, cuando escuchamos cosas como esa nos rebelamos: Es una posición social-demócrata.

Moravia: Ya dije solamente que el eslabón de la cadena de mortaje es factor de allenación tanto en una fábrica en nutocestión como en um fábrica enpitalista. En atros técminos, la cuestión de fondo siguo sin resolve se: el hombre integrado en una cadena le montaje, ¿cómo hara para ser hombre? ¿Como hará para conumicarse?

Fuksas: Este es et gereto y la finalidad de la revolución cultural; permitirlo comunicarse,

Moravia: Si usted hu dera leido mi libro sobre China, habria en ontrado aqui que, para mí, una de las grandes esperanzas de la revolución cultural consiste justamente, en hacer pasar al hombre desde la condición campesin a la tecnológica sin que tenga que pasar por la etapa burguesa de los consumos

Petrucciali: El intelectuat de izquierda està atado a un tipo de actividad desarro-liada: en el pasado, que hoy él llama revolucionaria pero que objetivamente no lo cs.

Morayla: ¿Qué actividad?

Petrucciolir A la netizidad desarrollada durante la Reastencia, que actualmento se ura para justificar u u serie de operaciones equivocadas,

Cuando usted dice que hoy el problema ya no consiste en la lucha de clases sino en la lucha contra la civilización indus. trial y la étien de los corsumos, asume una actitud de esclavo. Su posición es amáloga a la de aquellos que elcen que es suficiente el hecho de est r inscritos en alguna organización poli lea para enlifleur sus productos, Ere es un razonamiento falso. En otras palabres, serian más sinceros si se limitaran a decir: "Yo necesito ganar plata, Trato le cumplir con mi trabajo libremente, pere cuando no lo consigo tengo el atenuante del estado de necosidad". Este es el dis urso que hay que rebatir; vuestra mala le es demostrada por la venta miana de vuestros productos. Presemando vuestros productos de esa fornas, como fauto de la Ideologia de la clase obrera ustedes desacreditan a la claso obrera misma. Us edes se presentan como inocentes de cóm a andan las cosas en el mundo capitalista a pesar de compartir la responsabilid d do todas csas COMPR.

Scalzone: Quisiera i cordarle la fraso de Carmichael, el lider del Poder Negro, "El intelectual no nos i iteresa por lo que hace, sino por lo que hue por nosotros". Esto es también nuesto criterio, Con élmedimos la posición política del artista, Moraviai Usiedes, en otras palabras, quisieran un acte completamente politizade. Pur ini parte, yo no escribo articulos politicos en el Corriere, como no los escribia en Unita. No tengo partido, odio a los partirlos. No me stillaria a ninguno de cilos. Me transformacia en un instrumento y no podria serle útil a nadie, ni siquiera si partido si cual catuviera afiliado.

Fuksas: ¿Pero usted está seguro, en su condición actual, de no sor un instrumento?

Moravia: Permitame definir al artista. El artista es el hombre, el único hombre que tiene el deber de mantenerse paracido a un niño, o sea no reprimirse y condicionarse en favor de sociedad alguna. La función social del artista, en otras patabras, es la de ser en alguna medida un antisocial.

Veltroni: Y afirmando eso, ¿usted sigue creyéndose marxista?

Moravia: Desde juego soy marxista. Pero no existe solo el marxismo. Creo que este es un excelente instrumento de conocimiento, pero no el unico.

Scalzone: El marxismo no es un instrumento de conocimiento, sino de transformación del mundo,

Moravia: Conocimiento, para un artista, quiere decir transformación del mundo. Yo no soy hombre de acción: si lo fuera todo seria mucho más simple, aceptaria al maxismo como instrumento de transformación, como doctrina para la acción.

Veitroni: El "Che" Guevara ha dicho: "Los intelectuales deberian suicidarse, come clase". Eso significa que el intelectual no debe usar su pluma como instrumento para hacer lo que le gusta y evitarse el enfrentamiento con la realidad, ¿Què piensa usted de esa fruse, que en parto es aceptada también por Mao?

Moravia: Digo que es la frase de un hombre de acción, revolucionario de profesión. Un hombre que coloca la acción política por encima de todo lo demás. Pienso también que la pluma es un instrumento para hacer lo que nos gusta y en consecuencia enfrentarios a la realidad.

Veltreni: ¿Su juicio sobre las obras de Mao y Guevara?

Moravia: Opino que Mao es un excelente excritor. Permitame citar mi libro sobre China, Página 45: "Ha sido al mismo tiempo el Lenin, el Trotiki y el Stalin (pero también el Maiakovaki) de China". En cuanto a Guevara, lo conosco poco como escritor. Como hombre de acción su figura (lo afirmé en una antrevista a Parse Scra) es hecoca.

Bratrone: Usted, Moravia, ; cree que sua reportajes desde China o desde Corea; o solav Pudgorny, puedan contribuir a la lucha que los paises socialistas o del tercer mundo están llevando en contra del imperialismo?

Moravia: Nunca escribi nada acerca de Podgorny, El articulo desde Corea (Ver ANALISIS, No. 334) era una descripción veridica de la capantora rituación de Corea del Sur. Léanto, o vuelvanto a leer, y verán, Junto con otros excitores eurepeas he firmado en una página del New York Times, un llamado contra la guerra de Vietnam. Llamé hace poco tiempo a la Academia de Artes y Letras americana, de la cual formo parte como miembro honorario, con el fin un que se decidan a tomar posición en contra de la guerra. Naturalmente firmé munificatos contra la querra, no se hace otra com desde hace veinte años, ¿Pero para que sirve? Se debiera hacer mas. Deberiase impedirle a Estado: Unidos hacer la guerra. Pero yo, como escritor, ¿qué puedo hacer?

Veltroni: Deberia hacer dos coses, Primero: en el momento en que usted eseribe reportajes o artículos por ejemplo, no deberia aboyar al imperiatismo. Segundo: no deberia preocuparse sólo de lo que escribe, sino también de doude lo escribe, y quien lo terrá.

Realmar, Otra pregunta a Moravia. La relación entre hombre y endena de producción es de todas formas una relación, alienada. La contradicción que interesa en el plano social es la relación entre aprovechador y aprovechado. ¿Usted de que lado esta? Si está con el segundo, ¿pienas combatir el primero? ¿Con cuáles medios? ¿Pienas que pueden ser las rropios de sas profesión de escritor? ¿O que se pueda y deba combatir con otros medios?

Moravia: Representar, en arte, es combatir, porque la representación es acusación y jujcio. Fuera de ello, queda la acción política o armada.

Fuhrani La "generación intermedia" a la cual Moravia pertenece, ha formado una especie de monopolio cultural y económico de toda la protucción. Esta-es la razón por la cual reingamos de los hombres de cultura de aquella generación.

31

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Moraviat Vo no participo de pipela menopollo cultural ni putcho menos ceonâmico. De protestado siempre, en mia

libros, Protest a ustedes también, Prue. ben a escribir una novela en contra del monopolio,

Staderini: Una última pregunta: ¿Usted dijo que firma llamados por la paz en Victuam?

Mornyla: Es electo,

Studerini: Firma también en el Corriere della Sera, que es el degano de la opresión imperialista en Italia. ¿No es una contradiction?

Moraviat Si es cierto que el Corriere della Sera es el organi de la opresión imperialista en Italia, 🤕 una contradisción. De todas formas no escribo articulos ideológicos, y si los escripiera, no los publicaria en el Corriere d'Ila Sera. Finalmente, a pesar de que yo no sea stalta linista, permitame citar a Stalin: "Dicenque nos contradecimos, l'ues si, nos contradecimos". Solo los git-prof no se contradicen.

(Tomado de la revista "Análisis", Argentina, marzo de 1938)

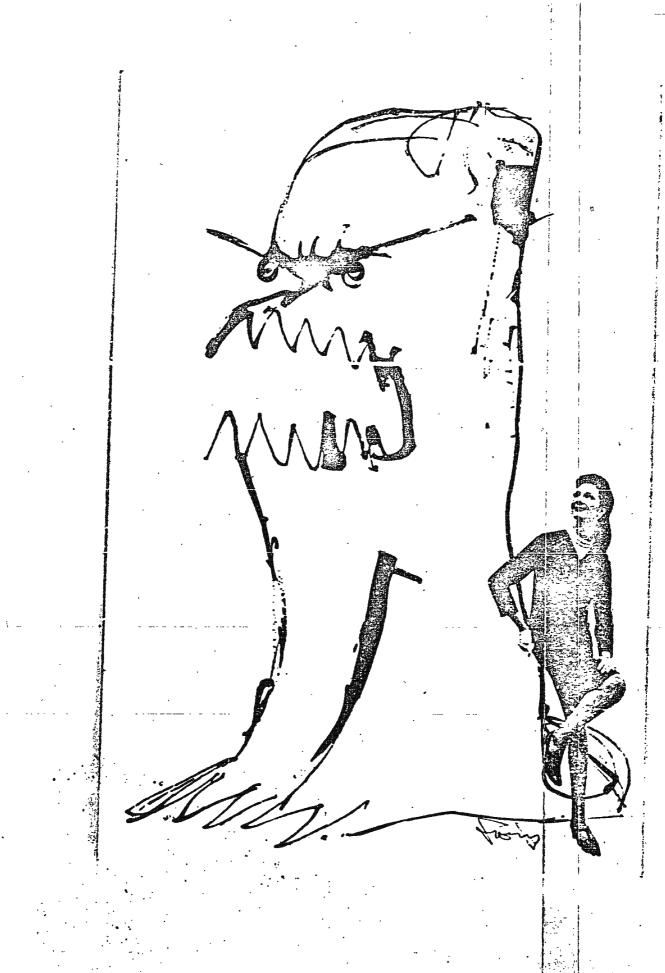


## **PROXIMAMENTE**

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# Los Siete Pecados Capitales

comedia musical de Héctor Quintero



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Subject:

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that with ITHING Office.

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1. During the period 4-15 Tovomber, 1968, Rowton met with IIRIMG/3 on four occasions to debrief him on his activities. ITRICA/3 agreed with Rowton that there were several phases to his menewed operational activity that needed careful planning and oc-ordination. We communited on these as follows:

- (a) Painterance of To test with PIR: TIPLY()3 sent a letter to Rafgel Frguets A. giving his his current efdress so that "Pavel" could be informed how to confect him. In response to this letter, LIRING/3 received a note from the mother of the Miguel and Juán León Barrios on 14/11/68 enquiring about his health. Since the letter was advaressed so italiance's new scaress to rest it was proff that his reply to Argueta's latter had been received. He stated that he hoped "Pavel" or some one also representing Pak would soon appear.
- (b) RE-establishment of Contact with LIKING AND PERUME: LIKING/3 agreed with howton that his ultimate objective would be a trip to PERUMEN to act as lisison between the authorities there and FAR. Row-von stressed the need to keep the local liking establishment informed and in support of his activities, to evoid hurting their feelings by going over their head (as happened before the last trip). ITRING/3 commented that he would have to maneuver matters so that he was extended an invitation. He would try this through LIXING/10, but if it did not succeed he would try a discreet approach through Orlando Sucrea who, he felt, could arrange a cultural invitation without difficulty.

ETRING/3 subsequently reported to Roston that he met with TIPING/10 on the coming of 15/11/68 in the patio area of the LIRITG establishment and that the latter had introduced him to his replacement, who invited ITRING/3 to meet with him any corning about 1100 except Non-days and Pridays. TIPING/9 also asked ITRING/3 to meet with him privately at his convenience so that he could debrief him on his experiences. ITRING/3 commented that ITRING/2 was very cordial but did not ask him any specific questions or show interest in debriefing him. ITRING/3 promised Rowton that he would attempt to gain access to ITRING/10's office for the debriefing.

(c) Cover Problems: IIRTHG/3 told Rowton that he would make every effort to obtain some kind of cover employment so that he could justify any funds given to him by Rowton. He stated that he was attempting to

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ormance for an emposition to distlay sig anoquety and at the same time percuado a locding weaker of his knowledge to sepreit him to work in his establishment ( for a monimul salena). ITHING/3 then suggested a hetter possibility - an exposition in Montges1. Canada, where he had contact with a merso, who could conside natters for him. LIBING/3 confersed that he favored Canada for another tersonal resern. He emplained that LIRING/M's father was outleaing from what enterred to be terminal cancer of the throat or escitatus and that I/4 was very anxious to see him before he died. I/# had sinted several times that she planned to request a visa for travel to Haw York since it was out of the question for her father to travel to Merico City to visit her. LIRING/3 told Rowton that in any case he felt it unwise to dermit I/4 to visit New York where she would injevitably fall in with all controls refugees who would report on her attitudes. We preferred to travel with her to Kontreal under cover of the exposition and then ask her father to join them there - a trip within reason for a person in his condition. L/3 aided that he felt he and L/4 could travel by best at a modest fare and this would permit him to corry as many of his products as possible for the exposition.

Rowton agreed that this might be a solution, but recommended that I/3 look into the possibility of returning to Mexico via IBRUMEN (on the boe) since this would kill two birds with one stone. Rowton suggested that L/3 determine whether L/4's father was actually in a condition to travel even the relatively short distance. If not it might be possible for I/4 to travel to New York via Montreal by train at less expense than by air.

Wallace B. Rowton

- 1. LIRING/3 received letter seknowledging from "Marta" postmerked 9 Kovember, Guatemala, C.A. acknowledging receipt L/3's letter and expressing relief from anxiety. Gives greetings from "los canchitos" Miguel, Elsa, "La Negra", "La Chiquitia", Felisa, Maria Elena, "La gordita! Envelope written by other hand is addressed to L/3 at his new residence and bears return address: M.Bol., 28c "B" 8-25 Zona 8. LIRING/3 told Bowton this letter from mother Juán and Miguel Essexia León Barrics, sent apparently to test commo channel. L/3 replied to letter 22/11/68 atating he emports soon make trip "outside country" and asking Marka Marta to tell "los canchitos" (her sons Miguel and Juán) to send him the assignment ("encargo") soonest since he in position to help them in some way. L/3 enclosed clipping from "Siempre" of letter to editor describing his experiences in Guatemala.
- 2. L/3 also turned over to member letter from "Espinoza" postmarked 7 November, Guatemala, C.A., sending warmest greetings, but containing phrase, "the León Barrios send you greetings", which L/3 interprets to be signal from Juán and Miguel that contact with FAR imminent. Envelope addressed to L/3 at his new address bears return address: Oscar Moises Raldán E., Granja Penal Pavón, Fraijanes, Guatemala.
- 3. LIRING/3 also reported that he had private talk with LIRING/9 on late morning 21 Hovember in which L/9 stated he most interested in any observations L/3 might wish make concerning attitude and opinions his FAR contact with respect to PBRUMEN support. He asked L/3 to put his thoughts in writing and submit them to him at 1730 on 26 November. At L/3 request he promised invite LIRING/10 and other interested LIRING officials to this meeting. LIRING/9 expressed opinion that LIRING/3 should subsequently travel to PBRUMEN for "more detailed" discussions and offered arrange cultural cover invitation. He added that it would not be necessary for L/3 make formal application for visa.
- 4. LIRING/3 will submit to Rowton draft of his report on afternoon 25/11/68 so that Rowton may amplify as desired. L/3 told Rowton he plans take line that FBRUMENs do not understand local problems and that their aid in past has been dissapated in factionalism. L/3 asked Rowton for as many details as Rowton can gather to strengthen his report (such as

local FAR attidute toward César Montes and CPG leaders through whom PBRUMEN has worked in past. Also in French girl who executed recently about whom L/9 asked L/3 a number of questions, indicating FBRUMEN interest in exact role she played via-é-vis FAR.

WBRowton

22 November, 1968

Subject: LIHING/3 Report of Meeting with LIRING/9.

1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at the safehouse ( Identity B ) at 1015 on 22 November, 1968, that he had met with LIRING/9 at the latter's private office late the previous morning for a very serious discussion. L/3 explained that he had visited the LIRING effices with LIRING/4 to pass out invitations to the exposition scheduled to begin on 23/11/68, and that L/9 approached him immediately and asked him to come into his office for a chat, "if he could spare the time." Early in the conversation, Rowton's reconstruction of which follows, LIRING/3 got the impression that L/9 had been delegated by LIRING/10 to talk privately with him on the matters he broached:

- 9/ "I'm glad, chico, that you have a few minutes, since I wanted to talk over a few things very seriously and in private."
- 3. "I'm at your disposition. What do you have in mind?"
- 9/. "Well, what are your plans?"
- 3/. "What plans do you mean? After all I have a lot of plans for different things, as you can imagine."
- 9/."I mean your plans for the immediate future."
- 3/. "Well, I pllan giving this exposition ( to which you are invited, of course) in the hope of raising enough money to take a trip to Montreal where I expect to have another exposition already being arranged by CFIC. This will enable LIRING/4 to come up there to see her father who is very ill, as you probably know. Her father will gladly help us financially to cover some of the cost of the trip."
- 9/."Yes, but I mean what about your plans for continued political activity?"
- 3/" Well, that's different. As you know I have had a long standing interest in Central America politically, and, despite the fact that it has cost me a great deal personally, I hope to continue helping my friends within my capabilities. Fortuntately, there in really nothing that have of against me here in Kexico, since I have not become involved with organizations and parties."
- 9/."I see. But has your experience in Guatemala affected your attitude towards us?"
- 3/. "Frankly it has. I have a much better idea of the struggle from first-hand experience, and much more sympathy for the difficulties

that the comrades there had had to undergo."

- 9/."But could you be more specific?"
- 3/. "Well, it's a long story. I had hoped to discuss it in some detail with several of you together, particularly LIRING/10 and his replacement."
- 9/. "Yes, that will be arranged. But first I would apprecate your going over everything with me."
- 3/. "Well first of all, I would like to have present Iden A with

  his wife since I want once and for all to clear up any questions
  about the circumstances of our mutual experience there."
- 9/. "Donk't be childish. We know all about Iden A, just exactly what kind of person he is as well as his wife. Such a confrontation in a wante of time, as for as we're concerned."
- 3/."But don't forget the fact that the parents of the wife of Iden are a very close friends of the LIRING Chief and it's quite natural that they'll present their powint of view when they see him."
- 9/. "Don't worry about that. It's a purely social relationship, and, in any case, our Chief really hasn't got very such to do with these things, and his opinion won't matter."
- 3/. "I hope so. I'd feel better in any case to talk about the details in Iden's presence, so that he will agree, as he must on his responsibility. You realize, of course, that he carried with him such compromising material that it was a miracle that we were not assassinated on the spot."
- 9/."Yes, but that is unimportant now. what is important is the fact that you have learned a great deal about the mentality of our friends down there, and that this could prove very useful to us in our future dealings."
- 3/. "Yes, for instance, they told me among other things that César Montes had spent too much time with your people, on trips to your country and to Mexico, and had completely lost touch with the revolution. That's the reason he was "destituido".
- 9/. "So, you know that!"
- 3/. "Yes, and many more details of why they are unhappy the lack of adequate financial support, the inability of \*\*\* \*\*ERIMEN to embarrass FBFRIME In their increasing trade success."
- 9/. Very interesting! I have a suggestion. Suppose you prepare a written report (informe) and bring it in at 1730 sharp on 26 Kovember. I'll have some of my colleagues present so that we

- can all discuss your opinions and suggestions. I suggest 1730 because it will be quieter then and we can go to a better place to talk privately."
- 3/. "Fine, but I would like to be able to amplify my report in person in the FBRUMEN capital. Perhaps I could stop off there on the way back from Montreal."
- 9/. "But there are no passenger ships making that run. Only cargo ships. I have a better suggestion. We could arrange an invitation for a cultural exposition that would appear innocuous."
- 3/."Fine. I agree that would be best. Do I have to make any formal application?"
- ebout lielig/4?"
- 3/. "That's a rather delicate matter. She has not quite gotten over my experience, and might object to my re-involvment in political matters. I therefore would request you not to mantion this aspect to her. She could go off to her home town and visit her family and think that the whole trip is cultural."
- 9/. "Yes. I agree that would be best under the circumstances."

Wallace B Rowton

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#### AVENTURA DE JURADO EN GUATEMALA



St. José P@g/s Llergo Director de SIEMPRE!

Hace unos días voiví a la ciudad de México, después de haber permanecido encarcelado durante azu 7 meses en Guatemala, sujeto a un juicio —del cual sali absuelto— acusado por las automades de aquel país de "atentar contra las instituciones aemocráticas".

No pretendo hazer una crónica de los aircunstancias de la detención, del proceso judicial, etc., pues estos detalles en parte fueron dados a conocer en su oportunidad por SiEM-PREL pero si quimera relatade en una forma breve algunas de las cosas que observé durante esos meses en el campo de concentración de Pavón, mai llamado "Granjo Penal Pa-l vón", dondo estuve confinado.

Dicha "grenja" está situada a más o menos 20 kms, de la ciudad de Guatemala en el Departamento de Francises y consiste en un hoyanco artificial redecido de cercar electrificadas y torretes de rigilanda como ción las formeses de concentración nacis. Se supone que en las países civilizados

los sistemos carcelarios disponen de los medios suficientes para proporcionar a los reciusos un mínimo de comodidades o elementos que le permitan su desarrollo o renabilitación; pero en este sitio sólo imperan el terror y el hambre, así como las condiciones más infrahumanas y expeluznantes, ya que la insalubridad y la falta de atención en todos los aspectos es lo que alí impera.

La población aproximada de "la Granja" escila entre 1,300 y 1,500 reas, de los cuales los "presos políticos" no llegan a 20, ya que los detenidos por delitos de esta naturaleza son generalmente asesinados después de su detención y estar sujetos a tarturas.

Por lo tanto, la casi totalidad de los presos son "delinquentes comunes", pero podría decirse que en un 40%, son inocentes del delito de que se les acusa: pues en Guatemala, para ser encurcelado no es necesario tener pruebas en contra. Una simple acusación porticidad o de particulares basta para quedar suleto a un proceso en el cual es común sa la absuelto después de uno o dos años de encarcelamiento.

La administración interna del penal está encomendada a los reclusos, para lo cua so escoge a los delincuentes más depravados y que tienen condenas largas asesinos, aro garilistos, etc.

Para mantener la disciplina se ha formado un cuerpo de represión denominado "serivicio especial" o "garroteros", como vulcormente se les ilaman. Este grupo, cuya impunidad es ilimitada, mantiene a los reclusos en terror constante, ya que basta la latta más infinima para que galpeen con saña brutal a infractor, llegándole a causar nassa la muerte.

El penal no proporciona a los reclusos ningún medio de trobajo, pero si propicia la icrmación de malias internas que explotan a quienes tienen mayores necesidades, haciéndolos trabajar en lábricas elementales de algunas artesanias: canacios, juguetes rudimentarios o pelotas de futbol; productos que envian a la calle para su venta y de los cuales esas malias obtienen grandes ganancias que comparten con la dirección del Penal.

Uno de los negocios más productivos, y del cual participan las autoridades en combinación con los reclusos influyentes, es la venta de seconales sódicos y manguana a los reclusos; drogas con las que una gran mayoria trata de borrar su desesperación y angustia, pero trayendo por consecuencia reyertas que degeneran muchas veces en el acestnato.

Como mencioné antes, la "Granja Penal de Pavón" consiste en un horarco artificiat cuyo espacio habitable se reduce a un rectangulo de 170 por 70 metros, agrandimante, el cual incluye 5 cuadras y una explanada al aire libre, iránicamente licunada "or po deportivo". Cada una de las cuadras alberga un promedio de 250 personas que viven en la más absoluta promiscuidad. Para agravar esta situación funciona diamentente —durante 12 horas— un altopariante, audible en todos los rincones, y que se utiliza para acrecentar el amedrentamiento y el terror. Por ese altoparlante se llama a las recluidos, que son solicitados para presentarse a la autoridad del penal, pero siempre baciendo hincapié en la amenaza y en la intimudación.

Los reincidentes o reos peligrosos, están confinados en el Triángulo que es un espacio pequeño, protegido por alambrodos, del cual no pueden salar ni siquiera a la explanada. En los cuadros, sólo una parte de los reclusos dispone de literas; sa mayorio duerme en el suelo cubriéndose con tropos vieies o cartones, La olimentación; que el penal proporciona consiste en dos pequeños panes y caló por la moñana acia tertillos y un poco de coldo, o de Injoies al mediodía, y niro poco de Injoies parte la terrie. Uso parte de los reos se olimenta con los escanos medios que sus familiares los literas. Uso parte de los reos se olimenta con los escanos medios que sus familiares los literas. Camposo existe o en pequeños fondas que algunos han instando para obtener ingresos. Tamposo existención médica adecuado: solo una lerraca con algunos unblementos resimentacios sesido, para cualquier entermedad, se proporcionam cue tido muenos dos acquinos, o un contrato de solo de contrato.

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terros e priorias de lutido, fotoscoloristes de comparion con la sirección del renol.

Uno de los negocios más proc vos, y del cual praticipan las autoridad em combinación con los reclusos influyentes, es la venta de secondies sócilos y mangulma a los reclusos; diogas con las que una gran mayoría trata de borrar su desexperante y angustica, pero trayendo por consecuencia reyertas que degeneran mumas voces en el assesinato.

Como mercions antes, la "Granja Penal de Pavón" consiste en un hoyanco artificial auyo espacio habitable se reduce a un rectángulo de 170 por 70 motros, aproximadamente, el cual incluye 5 cuadras y una explanada al aire libre, iranomente Lamada "or ipo deportivo". Cada una de las cuadras alberga un promecio de 250 personas que viven en la más absoluta promiscuadad. Para agravar esta situación funciona diariamente —durante 12 horas— un altoparlante, audible en todos los rincones, y que se utiliza para acrecentar el amedientamiento y el terror. Por ese altoparlante se llama a los recluicas, que son solicitados para presentarse a la autoridad del penal, pero siempre haciendo hincapié en la amenaza y en la intimidación.

Los reincidentes o reos peligrosos, están confinados en el "Triángulo", que es un espacio pequeño, protegido por alambradat, del cual no pueden salir ni siquiera a la explanada. En las cuadras, sólo una parte de los reclusos dispose de literas; sa mayoría duerme en el suelo cubriéndose con trapos viejos o cartones. La alimentación que el penal proporciona consiste en dos pequeños panes y calé por la mañana, seis torullas y un poco de caldo o de frijoles al mediodía, y otro poco de frijoles por la tarde. Una parte de los reos se alimenta con los escasos medios que sus familhares les llevan los días de visita o en pequeños fondas que algunos han instalado para obtener ingresos. Tampoco existe atención médica adecuada: sólo una barraca con algunos implementos rudimentarios donde, para cualquier entermedad, se proporcionan cuando mucho dos aspirnas, o un poco de menteolato y gasa, si es una herida, ya sca leve o grave.

Un hecho que reviste gravedad extrema para los reclusos ocusados de delitos políticos, es el de cómo llegar seguros de vuelta a sus hogares el día que reciben su libertod de ese infierno. En todas las "cárceles" del país el total de presos políticos no llega a 100. Una gran mayoria de euos ai unanticam el partir (Cigar en la página 70).

#### Kilmine blue

(Viene de la página 6) cuestrados" y desaparecidos en la carretera por cualquier grupo de los innumerables cuerpos políciacos represivos que existen en Guatemala, previo aviso, claro está de la direccida del Penal, que comunica con toda anticipación el día que un preso político obtiene su libertad.

En general, la "Grania Penal Pavón" es posiblemente una de las prisiones más terrorificas que existen en Latimoamérica y seria oportuno que la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la ONU organizara una revista de inspección, para desenmascarar así una de las tantas formas de violencia que imperan hoy dia en tan bello pera desafortunado país.

Le agradezco muy sinceramente las informaciones y defensa que la revista SIEMPRE! ha hecho ne mi caso.

Atentamente

Carlos Jurado

SECRET

Attachment #3 HNNA-35905

MICROFILMED

DOC. MICRO. SER.

Identity Sheet

Identity A: Carlos PERSABAL Marcue

Identity B: Suites Marne

CIT: Mexico

1: Mexico

TE: CONNECTION WITH

Subj. 0= 201-798301

SECRET

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	Action Required: S	ee paragraph 3.	_	MCRO. SER.		
l		1			,	
	1. Forwarded	herewith is one copy	each	for Headqu	ıarters	
	and the	ce B. ROWTON of LIR		covering t		
		tity A of ROWTON's a				
	rebel living in Mex	ico who, as addresse	es wil	ll remember		
Ì		mala with LIRING-3.				
	convinced the Guate	malans that he had n	ecent]	ly been inv	olved/	
		ties and may, in fact of the same report is				
	a Mexican Communist	who was arrested or	1 19 Se	eptember 19	968	
l	during a student de jail.	monstration in Mexic	o City	r; he is s	till in	
l	J ** * * *			:	1	
		spach is being writ				
l	with the LIRING Sta	at length about his tion Chief, LIRING-1	experto. The	rience in ( ne general	idea	
l	is for LIRING-3 to go to PBRUMEN in the hope that he can be					
	used to penetrate PBRUMEN-sponsored subversion efforts in Latin America or become, at least for a time, a reporting source in					
<u> </u>	PDRUMEN.			!		
l	3. ROWTON and	the undersigned are	e prepa	red to tra	vel to	
I	Guatemala to discuss the LIRING-3 case and its Guatemalan/FAR					
implications whenever reviewing the available information, feels ready for such						
discussion. Please advise.						
Kurmed & Fredge.						
Attachments: for Willard C. CURTIS						
1. Report (1), h/w 2. Identity Sheet (1), u/s/c						
PODY						
Distribution: CS CUPL , Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/atts - 1 copy each)						
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Living 3

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Subject: Report of Debriefing of LIaING/3.

9/

- 1. Upon his return from TDY, Powton made discreen efforts to re-establish contact with ITRI-7/4 as directly as possible. He checked on the lest known residence of I/4 on the nights of 24 and 25 October but found the trird floor apertment tetally blacked out. He therefore assumed that ITRI 3/4 had abandoned the approvent either lecause of feer of the Gobernación sights that had attempted to exert 500 peacs from her (as indicated in ITRAT take for 11 Sept...) or as a result of her inability to pay the Cotober rent, or both. Rowton sheeked his telephone answering service but found as message from ITRI'3/4 as he had hoved. Rowton concluded that I/4 must have assumed that Powton had left the country on an extended trin, since prior to his departure (15 September) Rowton had left a rote on the afternoon of 11 September under the door of the apartment advising I/4 that he had to leave the country and hoped to see her the following morning at 1000 flt the Toon\$Sultorio". LIRING/4 did not show at 1000 the following morning or the next, probably because of the visit of the police to the apartment.
- 2. Rowton then telephoned Identity C and, on the pretext of interest in the watercolors of LIRING/3, asked srtz Carillo who enswered for the address of LIRING/4. Srta Carillo replied that unfortunately she did not have the present address but did have the watercolors and could show them to Rowton. The added that LIRING/3 was in Guatemala and that WIRING/4 passed by Iden C from time to time to check on the sale of the pictures. When she offered to give I/4 any message Powton might have, the latter asked her to tell I/4 to telephone Rowton at his telephone answering service(alias)
- 3. Rowton then felt his only other gourte of L/A's whereshouts that would not attract undue attention (particularly on the part of the LIPITS office) would be a check with LIRING/3's first wife, since he recalled that she had taken care of IIPTRG/3 and /A's child almost every week-end, even after I/3's arrest. Bowton therefore obtained the telephone used by LIRING/3 to contact his first wife (from the Station file) and decided to call on the corning of 29 October. In the meantime, however, Rowton learned from the Station that LIRING/3 had been released and returned to Maxico City on 48 Cotober.
- 4. When Rowton called the number of the frist wife (apparently a stall store in the Gasas Grandes development), he asked for Carlito, the eldent son of L/3, (whom Rowton bad already met) mether than for the first wife of L/3 whom Rowton did not have. A young girl replied saying that her brother Carlito was not at home at the moment. Rowton then explained that he was actually

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trying to locate [IxIIS/3. The child then exclaimed that Ix/3, her father, was at that your rement upstains in hor home. Nowary eaked her to ask her father to come to the choice as soon as jossible. After a few minutes delay. Ix/3 care to the hybone and talked limitally to Powton.

- 5. IPPLG/3 appeared from his tone of voice, to be nother depressed and showed no sign of enthusiasm in re-establishing contact with Royton. Rowton explained that he had been out of the country and had unfortunately not been able to see I/4 before he left. Rowton added that he had returned on 19 Oct, the day after LIRING/3 himself had returned (Rowton said this for effect, since he knew it would impress I/3 to indicate that he was fully evere of the exact date of I/3's return). When he then asked to see I/3, the latter replied for course, when it would then bade a date to dawn that same day at the Miss restaurant on Raforma. We then telephoned Identity D and reserved a room for that afternoon so that he would be able to give I/3 the safebouse at their first meeting.
- 6. LIRING/3 appeared on time and looked reasonably well, despite his long confinement. He explained that he had been able to recuperate during the past ten days and felt puch better for the normal dist he had been able to resume. The only physical effect he still felt, besides the weakness from loss of weight and dysentery, was a recurring pain in the side, which L/3 feared resulted from a fractured rib that had healed without medical treatment. He explained that he had been beaten severely on several occasions during the initial interrogation both by the military and the police and "of course" did not have the benefit of medical treatment afterwards.
- 7. Rowton then alleged to LIRING/3 that he had done "everything possible" to arrange his release, principally through a notional GNA colonel whose brother was a business friend of Rowton. He explained that when he had learned that I/3 had left Mexico City for the trip as planned, he telephoned the colonel and explained that a Mexican friend, LIRING/3, was planning to visit his country and might conceivably need help at some point. Rowton continued that this gesture proved to be literally a life-saver for I/3, since a few days later, the colonel called Rowton back and reported the arrest of I/3 in the company of "very dangerous persons." At the colonel's request, Rowton met with him several days later at the border and they both planned the best course of action to save I/3. Rowton alleged that the colonel on his own initiative erranged to have I/3 transferred from the frontier to Guatemala Gity so that he could be released from army sustody to the citilian authorisins. I/? apparently accented this story at once, remarking that it did appear strange to his that he was flown with his companions in a twin

engine place and that the "inister of Trantion was present at the simport when they disembarked. I/3 told Rowton that he felt dertain that had na remained in the control of the army he would have been executed without wriel or publicity of any kind.

- 8. LIRING/3 added that when he arrived he found ITRING/4 in a state of virtual exhaustion from nervous tension and worms. He stated that L/4 had become understandably bitter at the attitude of the police and felt standared by everyone, including Rowton, during the last weeks of L/2's imprisonment.

  L/3 added that, as Rowton suspected, L/4 was not anxious for him to resume any kind of political activity and would try her heat to dissuade him from resuming collaboration with Rowton, if it meant reinvolvement with RiR and the ITRING office. In raphy to Rowton's query, L/3 stated that L/4 had managed financially since Rowton's departure by solling a few of his maintines, one of which was purchased by a "northomerican woman" at an excellent price and then donated to Bellas intes (after the purchaser learned of L/3's plight)
- 9. Rowton met with I/3 spain that same evening at 1960 in the safercom of Identity D and was able to dehrief him at some length under more recure conditions. [JFFRG/3 showed no reluctance to provide Powton with all the details of his trip to Guaterale and to answer Fowton's questions frankly. At Rowton's request I/3 gave the following chronological account of his experiences over the past six months:

"Idens A and B and myself crossed the border on Paster Saturiay(April 13) without incident, Iden A using the false Maxican documents I had provided and Iden B and myself traveling with our legal passports that had been properly vissed in Maxica City before we left. I had originally planned to get Iden A across the border illegally north of Mesilla and meet him subsequently in Gustemals City, but I was dissuaded from this plan partly by Iden A's fear of traveling alone without properly visaed papers and partly by the fact that it was an important holiday and there was more than usual novement parass the border.

"Incidentally Iden B foined us at the invitation of Iden A when Iden B expressed an interest in concluding an interview with Nestor Valle of FAR ( the first interview had occurred some months previously during Iden B's last trip to Guatemala). Iden B did this on his own initiative to impress his uncle with his newspaper initiative and ability, and Iden A felt that bringing Iden B with him would enhance his own prestige in the eyes of the FAR headquarter officials he hoped to meet. I myself reclired that Iden B's presence was not altogether unfavorable for me, since if anything happened I would hot have to bear the responsibility alone but could share it with Iden B.

"In any event we parsed through the "evican inigration indicastors without difficulty, although Iden A was told that he would have to stop off to the Guatardan consul's office (strangely enough on the Guatardan side) to get a tourist visa, which was described as a "mere formality". At this point Iden A hagen to show signs of hervousness and refused to enter the Consul's office alone. I therefore accompanied him to call him down. We found that the Consul was a colonel in the GNA, and a very observant person, despite his rather polite treatment of Iden A. Tier A, incidentally had dyed his heir at my suggestion to reduce the chances of his being spotted by an accusintance.

"Pur I forcet to mention test the rest reason for Iden A's convousness."

"But I forget to tention that the real reason for Iden A's nervousness was an unfortunate incident at the intigration office shortly before. One of the intigration officers mistock Iden B for a remain whited for some sort of fraud and insisted on examining him closely and even checking his height with a tape measure. Fortinately Iden B proved to be several centimeters teller than the person wanted by the police and we were allowed to pass on. This delay however did attract considerable attention and produced a state of nervous tension in both Iden A and, of course, B.

"Iden A was granted the tourist visa without delay and we proceeded to the Sustoms, about 200 yeards up the road. Iden A, who had only a briefcase, refused to enter the Sustoms shed, but waited for us in a nearby cafe to keep as calm as possible. Iden R and I had to open our valises in Gustoms for the routine check. It was then that I myself got a nervous shock. Wy own has had nothing but clothing in it, but Iden B was carrying a carera, a Czech recording rathine, Soviet-made hiking boots, and, worst of all, a Mexican negotine between the pages of which he had concealed (very brucely) several FAR propaganda leaflets (which he told me later he was carrying to fingress" the FAR with the work being done on his uncle's press in Mexico City). Although the Customs officers asked no questions and allowed Iden B to proceed I am certain that they spotted the leaflets and noted the rather unusual equipment Iden B was carrying with bim.

"when we joined Iden A at the cafe, he asked anxiously, 'No hubo clave?' and when we assured him that there hadn't been an problem ('clave') he regained his composture. In them hadled a small, six-passenger autobus that was bound for Huehuetenanco with three passengers (Guatamalans) already aboard. About 3 kilometers outside the town (Mesilia) the driver told us we were approaching the military outpust of 'Al Cable' and that we would be obecked again. He, to our Autorise, warmed us to

hide any curs we might have been organism "budge the geoty" since the military would cosmon the has. Just then we say a cap mass as a mether biok chaed one pronomized the Coproblesh the driver's seet. Iden A's remviousness seited him arein and he aboved into om hand his Guarerolan nosaront and a few other of his least gapeers. I quickly but ther into my recket and bored that I would not be searched. Withen we meanhed the costrol point, we say the Contul! by then wearing a side-one, lessing against his one, weither for the arrival of the bud. As soon ad we stormed, he discusted to a rearby soldier to have the Colonel Commendant come out. Then the soldier refused series that it was more proper for him. the Concut, to moto the office of the Commerdent, the Consul invisted in a rather otern voice. Finally the soldier disacheared and m turned in a few minutes with the commendant, a Thine officer of overlant hanning them a for minute and the section with the Consul, the Cormendent ordered up ( Iden A.B and myself) out of the bus. The driver then returned our fore and wes allowed to proceed on to Huchmetenango, after we had removed our luggage, se them found ourselves surround by soldiers and escorted into the PEL Cable! compound. There we were assigned to different prefatioisted buts and questioned segarately. At an opportune moment, when the soldier granding me (through the window of the but) went off to get meleoge water. I managed to squeeze the isssport of Iden A and his other peoples through a crack in the floor heards where I felt sure that ther would not be discovered.

"The Cormandant, who was fairly polite and even gave the coffee, asked me the purpose of my trip and how well I knew the other two. I replied that I was simply sightseeing and that I had known Iigh B in Maxico City since he was a well-known cotefration at the University, but that I had run into him at San Cristôral. With repart to Iden A, I alleged that I did not know him and had simply run into him by chance at the Immigration Office and had joined him and Iden 8 on the bus to save money in traveling to Euchuetenance. The Commandant them asked me to open my valise and he proceeded to search the contents carefully. Fer was particularly attracted to a clay bell-which Idea & or Bihad placed there without my knowledge. (I later found out that they had stolen three bells from the hotel at Son Cristonal in r spoot and had put one on my valise). I told the Commandant that I did not know the bell was in my valise but recognized it as one sold at the tourist stand of the Hotel in San Cristobal. I subsequently realized that they thought that the bells were some some of reconsition signal and wanted to get to the bottom of the entamently perulexing matter.

"After about three or four hours an erry truck arrived drived by sergeant who appeared to have been dringing heavily ( it was Foly Saturday and a festive occasion in the village). He ordered us tied hand and foot and literally thrown into the back of the truck. He then took off at reckless speed without any thought of the pain he was causing us ( our hands were tied behild our back and we were forced to remain lying on the floor of the truck). At one point he stopped and instructed the soldiers to shoot us if we made any attempt to escape. Later one of the soldiers brutelly ricked Iden A in the side when he moved suddenly, apparently to ease the strain on his arms. "We were limally taken from the truck at the villate of Buenos Aires, on the outskirts of Euchuctenango, and escorted into enother military comblichment where we were again inversegaved. I stuck steadyeatly to my original simply story, and, although I am sure that they did not believe me, there was no incrininating evidence in my luggage or on my person to serve as a bisis for their suspicions. After several hours, from a rood vantage point just inside the tain door, where I had been deposited (still tied up) by the last interrogator, I overheard an officer sending a radio ressage to the Ministry in Puatemela City reporting our arrest and asking for instructions. He must have been told that a helicoopter would be coming to gick us up, becasue I heard him reply that a heliocopter would not be adequate and that a plane should be sent, since we were "dangerous types".

"The plane, a twin engine military sircraft, finally arrived and we were hustled into it and forced again to lie on the floor even while in flight. When we landed at the Gusterela City sirport we were not removed from the plane for several hours. I recall hearing someone say, Leave then inside. The Minister hasn't arrive yet. Shortly thereafter, a Northamerican army officer came aboard the plane and came straight toward me. He rolled he over roughly with his boot and began interrogating me. He appeared under the impression that I was a FAP leader and at first did not believe him when I gave him my true identity. I remember him very well since he spoke with a distinct northamerican accent and had a bandage around one of his legs (apparently he had been woulded in a shirmish).

"We were finally removed from the simproft and takes lirectly to the 2nd Police Corps Headquarters in Gusternla City and assigned to sell block 400, which is reserved for political principers (incidentally I later learned to my smacement that they are no more that 40 political prisoners in Gusternla - the others all having here executed before trial.

"In cellblock 4004 where I open determine these swaiting armsignment, there are six cells with thick wooden bars, three or each side, in thris of which lies i, Iden B and speaks were confined. I discovered that in one of the other cells was Polanda "Cahollite", an intertant Fig lander, and in another cell were two young Fig rambers, the hoother Migwel and "In Juán Jeán Parrios, who later hold to that they were tempters of the G-2 of Fig. In the remaining cell were three turbers of the Michael Blance", one of Michael I later learned was named Inex Eufio Redilla.

"is soon as we became acquainted, 'Ceballita' rade an investiration of the circumstances surmounding our arrest, as he said, on hehalf of FAR. 'Cabollito' who had already been arraigned had more freefor than the others and was able to wandom in and out . 100 relably a face ( ) noted that the door of his cell was often priceked). He therefore was able to talk discreptly with esca of us through the bors to inverregate! us to his satisfaction. After several days he reported that he found Iden Als conduct 'inexcusable' and Iden 3 completely bourid in bis unnecessarily exposing his companions with the compromising rateriel he was carrying. He told me that he felt 7 had been the victim of very or fortunate circumstances and my only mistake was to have atterroted to cross the frontier with the other two. We added that he intended to sent his report to FAR wis his rother, who was able to visit his some or less regularly. Several weeks Inter I say 'Cobollito' being pushed into an army truck and learned from the Leon brothers that he was taken out and executed before his trial was completed! The last tire I saw Iden A was about Arril 25, when he waven to de from his cell ( I had already been taken out of cellblobk 400 and zoved into the large compound).

"Fortunately the Mexican Consul, Berrano, recognized my family name and told me that he was a friend of my father. He did what he could to help me get messages out to my wife and to supply me with materials to write and do some painting. Also of great help and comfort to me was Mario Armando Amador, the First Becretary, whose life, I learned later, was threatened befause of the interest he took in me and Iden B. Armando confided to me on one occasion that he had to be very discreet in sending messages to helacions Exteriores in Mexico since the "North-americans decipher and read everything we send." He therefore had to send everything concerning me by diplomatic pouch despite the delay involved.

"I managed to get a message out to the press in a very strange way. I

had gotten to know one of the Mano Blanca' (the olderto: the trit that had been arrested for the hidnapping of the Archbishop), Inax Rufio Padilla, and felt he was sympathetic toward us. I therefore prepared a brief message on the inside of an entry package of digarettes 'To whom it may Concern' stating that we had been arrested and were being held unfustly, and on the day that the trio here called out to appear in court, where I knew there would be newscaper reportationent I slipped the note to Rufio with a gleathat he give it to a ret ruer as soon as he could. I be an learned that he did so and that he appeared verbating in the local press.

"Several weeks later the nother and wife of Iden B visited us are githe because of what he told ther or on their own initiative spread the

a Trotskyits ( the wife and nother of Iden 3 are both members of the CP Mexico). This proved very disquieting to re but I was reassured to some extent by the León brothers who told me that they would 'investigm gate' and clear up the matter as soon as they could. Shout two months later, theytook re aside in the prison compound and show me a report they stated they received from "FiR sources in Mexico". In this report I was described as an enerchist without party affiliations, of good character and conduct, trustworthy and responsible but difficult to control". Iden B, on the other hand was described as an opportunist, without sincere ideology, in reality a bourgeoism of superficial convictions."

"From that moment the león brothers took me into their confidence. They revealed that FAR had broken completely with the CP Spatemala becasue of complete dissatisfaction with the party's handling of support matters. They jointed out to me Francisco Corado in the compound as the CP representative and commented thant all financial help from the outside was being channeled through him despite the fact! that he distribute the sid to his friends who were not even party threbers and deglected everyone else. The brothers also told me that FAR had stripped Bésar Montes of all his authority and that he was in exile in Marico. They commented that Montes had spent almost all his time outside Guatempla and had not accombished the missions be was sent on. They also stated that financial and material aid from Cuba had dwindled to alsmost nothing because of FAR refusal to accept Juhan terms. The explained that the Curans insisted on sending their experts to direct everything and channeled all their financial aid through the CP Eustemala. . "The left brothers also suggested that if and when I returned to

Mexico, I should reintain content with a "genuine FAR rapresentative" oni that I should do swenthing possible to convince the Owers to take a nors realistic position wis-s-vie their revolution. I welcomed this suggestion, assuming that that I could and would make a trip to Prema as soon as feasible. Since I was not centain of my wife's whereshouts, I saked the brothers to have their representative in Mexico, when they described simply as "Tavel", contest me through

Identity C . I supposted that 'Favel' could contect the director, Identity E or har secretary atra Carillo, and introduce himself as a person representing a certain stra. Violeta who was interested in purchasing the asterolous I had already sent to my wife. 'Favel' could then ask for my address or leave, a message tabling the whom I could be ask for my address or leave, a message tabling with me as see after my release as possible.

"The triel of myself and Iden B was nothing more than a fortality, since the judge was well aware that the prosecution had no solid evidence (fortunately for us Iden i had already been eliminated and could not testify even under duress). Since at least three attempts had been made to execute us lefore the triel (on the well-known pretext of removing us from the prison and assassinating us while supposedly averyting to escape), I demand an escort after the acquittal to accompany us to the airport. We arrived in Mexico City on 18 October and I was not there by my wife."

10. After relating the above, LIRING/3 asked Rowton to keep the proposed contact with 'Pavel' in strictest confidence, particularly from his wife, since he felt she would be very upset to learn that he, L/3, was planning to resume political activity on behalf of FAR. In reply to Rowton's query, L/3 stated that as yet he had not had time to recontact anyone in the LIRING office but promised to do so as soon as the opportunity presented itself. He agreed with Rowton that LIRING/4 would be the logical person to arrange a discreet meeting with LIRING/40. L/3 told Rowton incidentally that L/4 had protested to LIRING/10 some weeks previously that Rodolfo Reyes was speading rumors to the effect that the HIRING office did not trust LIRING/4. L/10 replied indignantly that if there was anyone they did not trust it was Rodolfo Reyes, and that L/4 could bring him in and L/10 yould tell him such to his face.

Wallace B. Rowton

SECRET Attachment #2 нима-35904

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Identity Sheet

Francisco' \*LARA (AUT DE CID!) Identity A:

Identity B: Carlos \*PERSABAL Marcue

Identity C: Salon de la Plastica Mexicana

Identity D: Suites Marne

Identity E: /Sra/ Lourdes CHOUMACERO

Manuel MARCUE Pardinas, former editor of Politica magazine Identity F:

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Chief. WH Livision	!
Chief of Station,	
Chief of Station, Mexico City	
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2. As this dispatch is being written, LIRING-3 appointment to talk at length about his experience in with the LIRING Station Uniof, LIRING-10. The generalis for LIRING-3 to go to PERUMEN in the hone that he used to penetrate PERUMEN-sponsored subversion offort America or become, at least for a time, a reporting subversion of the penetral subversions and the undersigned are prepared to the Guatemala to discuss the LIRING-3 case and its Guatem implications whenever	matemala il idea can be s in Latin source in ravel to salan/FAR
reviewing the available information, feels ready for discussion. Please advise.	sych
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1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 HAD AT LIRING WITH

LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED

WHITTEN REPORT DUE 1738 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA

AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED.

WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PERUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9

EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND

HAD DONE MANY THINGS THE ADDED LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT

ON PAPER HOW PERUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND SIVE HIS

COINTON OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT

LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY

OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETIE FIRK HAD

FAR MISSION BEFORE HER JEATH.

2. LIRING-9 STATED CHIEF LIRING "DOES NOT HAVE VERY MUCH TO DO WITH THESE THINGS" (CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES IN GUATEMALA) AND "HIS CPINION DOES NOT MATTER." SAID WOULD ARRANGE FOR

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RYBAT/PER(MEN/LIRISG-3
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1. BECAUSE LIRING-3 COULD NOT LOGICALLY HAVE GAINED DETAILED
INSIGHT INTO INSURGENCY MOVEMENT IN GUATENALA DURING ENCARCERATION,
DO NOT BELIEVE II NECESSARY
PROVIDE EXTENSIVE AND DETAILED BRIEFING FOR PREPARATION LIRING-3
REPORT. SUGGEST FOLLOWING GENERAL GUIDELINES, SUBJECT TO HQS
APPROVAL, WHICH OSTENSIBILY TO BE IMPRESSIONS OF LIRING-3 BASED
ON CONVERSATIONS WITH FAR LEADERS WHILE IN JAIL.
A. EMPHASIZE FRAGMENTATION, DISORGANIZATION AND COMPETITION
OF INSURGENT FORCES HAVE SERIOUSLY DISRUPTED INSURGENT MOVEMENT,
WHICH NOW STACHANT.
B. LEADERSHIP IS OBVIOUSLY IMMATURE AND INCAPABLE OF
ORGANIZING AN EFFECTIVE MOVEMENT.
C. ACCORDING ROLANDO "CEBCLLITA" FAR FUNDS MISUSED BY
LEADERS IN "NON-REVOLUTIONARY WAYS."
D. RECENT FAR TERRORISM. WHICH FOR MOST PART ILL-CONVEIVED
AND NOT PART OF OVERALL STRATEGY, HAS WEAKENED MOVEMENT THROUGH
* NO RECORD IN 0/5 23 NOV 68 0400 Z. Ling -3
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RYBAT FBRUMEN LIRING-3	<u>.                                     </u>	
REF: MEXICO CITY 7988	Si 25301	22H3468 M 4 0 2 7 3

LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED

WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1738 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA

AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCAPCERATED.

WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PERUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9

EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND
HAD DONE MANY THINGS WOLFT. HE ADDEP LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT

ON PAPER YOW PERUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS

OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT

LIRING-3 KNOVS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. ANDRE HANY

OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 VANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETIE FIRK HAD

FAR MISSION BEFORE HER JEATH.

2. LIRING-9 STATED CHIEF LIRING "DOES NOT HAVE VERY MUCH TO DO WITH THESE THINGS" (CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES IN GUATEMALA) AND "HIS OP!NION DOES NOT MATTER." SAID WOULD ARRANGE FOR

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DISCUSS LIRING-3 REPOR	T AND SUGGESTIONS AT LENGT	TH " IK SETTER
PLACE FOR PRIVATE TALK	." WHEN LIRING-3 EXPRESSE	HOPE HE MIGHT
AMPLIFY HIS REPORT IN	PERSON IN PRRUMEN CAPITAL	- 1.TRTNG-9
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FECA	Chief of Station,	Wexico City		MCCF4A	
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	Reference :	MEXICO CITY-7945, 4 No	vember 1	1968	
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	representatives o	f the Guatemalan rebels	will be	e initiate	d
	in the near futur	e. Station plans are t LIRING-3 and his Guatem	o discre alan com	etly surv	eil <del>r</del>
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THE PERSON NAMED IN

ATT HIMAN 2-422

Chatumala 22 de Cotubre de 1966.

Seffor :

desea :.

Carlos Jurado Lal Har

MOV 29 1968 DOC MICRO, SES.

Mexico D. P.

Apresiable yn distinguido amigo Carlos cuanto gusto es para mi saludarlo desandole cicha y felicidad.

No saté cuato me alegro que ya hayan recobrado esa angustiada libertai espero en Dios que se restablesca pronto de esa gran angustia le causaron ni Pais y también que esto lo vuelva a suseder ya que eso es muy duro de coportar.

ortografía que he cometido pero todavia me encuentro un tanto nervioso colodora a Porsattal y untos un carantes saludo os su amigo que verlo

Rafael Armeta

cit: Guatemala

mi direccion es la siguiente :

2 Av. 27%57%cna 12 Guatemaia C. A.

en el sobre le voy a poner otra si es que ne contesta Agalo a esta por favor.esta que le anote aca acentro

re: contact with, 501-798 301

A DALIA AZUL
ENRIQUI: PUENTE C.
ARTICULOS PARA CADALLEROS

L SA AVENICA Y 101. CALLE
TEL 44-72
GUATEMALA C. A.

Schor:

Carlos Juraco cel Mar

Havre.# 7

Col. Juarez Lamico D. P.

TO TEREO

s/c attil

Es copy

Resite: Rafael Argueta A-11 Av. 25/22 Done 12 Guatemaia C. A.

SECRET Att

Chief of Station, Mexico City

Letter Received by LIRING-3 from Guatemala

Actica Required: TYI

Chief, WH Chvision Chief of Station,

Reference : HEXICO CITY-7945, 4 November 1968

- 1. Forwarded under senarate cover for each addressee is a Kerox copy of the letter recently received by LIRING-3 from Gual-Seala mustives in a service.
- 2. The Station hones that contact between LIRING-3 and representatives of the Guatemalan rebels will be initiated in the near future. Station plans are to discreetly surveil meetings between LIRING-3 and his Guatemalan contact after the first such meeting.

for Villard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
Letter (1), w/s/c

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HEMA - 35822 18 November 1638

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PLY A. MEXICO CITY 7945 (III)	<b>,</b>
B. DIRECTOR 48471	6
1. ESLAIR TEAM CAUTIOUS INVESTIGATION REVEALS:	<b>.U</b>
A. JUAN CARRERA, WIFE DARIA GARCIA DE CARRERA, AND CHILDREN	
LIVE ELEVEBTH AVENUE ADDRESS. HOWEVER, BROTHERS RIGOZERTO AND RAFAEL	•
ARGUETA ARE OWNERS AND LIVED THERE PREVIOUSLY. HOUSE NOW UP FOR SALE	
LUIS ARGUETA, FATHER OF BROTHERS, LIVES IN CHIQUIMULA:	
B. SECOND AVENUE ADDRESS OCCUPIED BY CANDELARIO ALVARADO AND	
FAMILY. WO FURTHER DETAILS BUT WAME INDICATES POSSIBLE FAMILY TIE	,
WITH ARGUETA ALVARADO BROTHERS.	•
C. "LA DALIA AZUL", CUNED BY ENRIQUE PUENTE C., DOES EXIST AS	•
INDICATED REFERENCE.	
2. STATION FILES SHOW:	3 8 8
A. NO TRACES CARRERA AND FAMILY, PUENTE, LUIS ARGUETA, OR	er via
ALVARADO.	
B. PRESSA LIBRE, 28 AUGUST 1968, REPORTED THAT RAFAEL ARGUETA	
ALVARADO ARRESTED DURING MAY DAY PARADE 1967 AND RELEASED 27 AUGUST	1968
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FORMAL MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL PREPARATORY COMMITTED FOR THE TON-WYF TO BE HELD IN WILLIAM, AUSTRIA JUL. 59.

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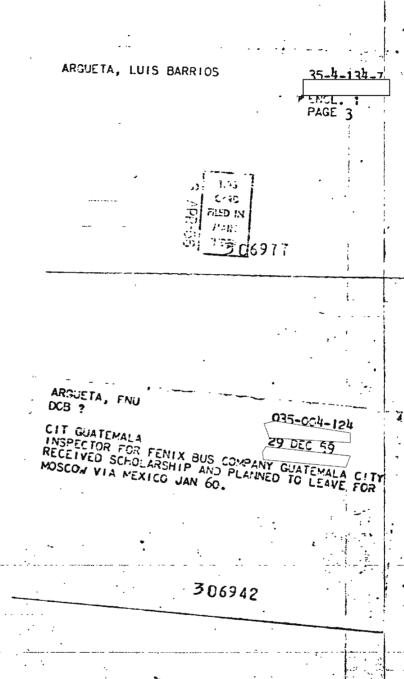
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INSPECTOR FOR FENIX BUS COMPANY GUATEMALA CITY
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9 November, 1916.

Subject: Review and Assessment of LTHING Cheretion.

## L. Background Character and Assessment of II/II/3/3:

1. Limins/3 (Subject) is a 26-weer-cld Mexicon extint of the Dieco Rivers Debool and an efficiency existentialist chiented toward the childent convictions. He has produced a fair should of teinting and had relatively good success in murals both in Juby and Mexico, but has not succeeded in selling so, v of his works/describe numerous exp sitions, stansored by the Mexican Government classic arts organization (Selles Artes). Because of his family, elucational and expressive (Selles Artes). Because of his family, elucational and expressive for its intrinsic worth by the Hexican Government and tends to blaze his atthickal activitions for white lash of screttance. Subject, however, has, as he binself asserts, no feelings of bitterneds for rescitent, elthough he frequently conscious the "entwish, forelornness and hobliness" of the existentialist, out he assert reprinted himself to decrease that or absent he either in his mersonal or trying life. Subject has confided to lowton that he has no real friends and that he say withdraws from society, the flowster of whom, "to revelor as earth but also no an escane from the pressures and ordinations of the societ but also no an escane from the pressures and ordinations of the societ life he has been forced to lead in Aexico.

3. Shortly after he not Rowton, in Arril, 2006, Swifect confessed that he felt himself at a critical point in his ergonal any arpistic life. To indicated what he feld the paradoxes inhoralt in his pailostphy were overwhelming and depressing his and that He reloaded friendship
with Powton, an experienced foreitner whom he felt he could trust imthicitly. At one critical point, subject suit his rather tedious job
with the Kinistry of Education (teaching art in a public school) with the content that "everyone must make personal decisions and take risks, and I have decided to throw my lot in with you (houton) for bester or worse. and so have quit the job since it was interfering with in availability". This he did without knowing any more shout kowton than his name, which technical surveillance revealed he did not accept as a true name, and with no quarantees of Juture financial surport from howton, in his conversations with Subject, has been careful not to neweal any detaconcerning his personal life and background, including his bermanent or local address, providing Subject only with the number of a telephone answering service, and using the safehouse rented by Subject as a principal point of conduct. Subject has accepted money from Rowson, at first only for treviously approved expenses, and subsequently for his personal use, but has accepted Rowton's initiative in this matter, and sade no demands on action for remuneration for services rendered. Le has been meticulous in accounting for funds and shown no reductions to sign receipts presented to him by Rowton ( with his true-name as mature). Subject has confessed, (and shown) an almost conflete lack of experience is business and intellisence work, but has accepted howten's juidance. where required, without heritation.

es cuba

201-798301

## Development of LIEF 3/3 by Routon:

- .6. Rowton met Subject in April 1986 by cold at roach in the art stadio where subject at the time was presenting his latest works the sousceship of Bellas Artes. Lowton these and Creek businessian interested in Duffect's style and his innecists object's wife's time was to ascertain the address in lew Morn dity of Subject's wife's father (a Subject in he had to present an slove-evern a prospect to Subject to capilit future meetings, alleged that he was alking to arrange for the belithin of a nural to be installed in a new Morn dishtelus owned by a Greek friend of his (Rita Dunitri, chart and tenfoller at the "In Jean-somete"), howen might thus time-raintum a new Morn of hytelus" would have the double advantage of determining Subject's religious powerd in min in lew Morn dist and in a bourgeois invironment.
- 7. Whisot to sted very favorably to the factor approach and cosatted however invited into the cent wife the cent works invited in the cent are contained in the cent approach of invited in the cent content. The content is the cent content in the cent cented their total of the cent cented their total of the center content to cented their total of the center to center to center the center the center the center to center the center the center the center to center the center the center the center to center the center the center to center the cent
- 8. When, therefore, on 2 kmy. 1651. Dubfect of ressed provisional and having not houten and indicated that he wished to continue his friendly contacts, regardless of whether howten purchased his painting or arreaded for the nural, Howten ix moved in with an offer to "lire" Bubject as his business associate on an unofficial basis, so that Subject could acquire a degree of indevence financially and perhaps do some traveling for Rowton. In order to devilor as much clamestitude as possible in his future contacts with Subject, Howton extlained that he was simily a bourist in hexico and as such not permitted to entage in Subject's discretion in any dealings he would therefore have to defend on Subject's discretion in any dealings he might have with him. Subject accepted this as quite normal but pointed out to Roten his limitations was far as business training and experience went. In reply to kewton's cuery, he did confess, however, that he had encellent contacts in Havana that could be exploited for business dealings with Cuba. He volunteered to make an exploratory trip to Havana to renew his friendship with the perons concerned. Howton accepted this offer, not only to test Subject's story but also to seize the occasion to be in a position to provide subject with money to make the trip and trus compromise him somewhat at the cutset.
- 9. Rowton's next move was to explain to Subject that he had a long-term interest in Cuba and hoped to do a great deal of business in the future but first felt it was essential that both he and Subject develop the troper contacts inside to ensure success. Judiect residily agreed to this and felt relieved that howom did not extent him to produce concrete results oversight, when nowton, therefore all respect that hadnot find and rent a saferouse for entertailment and development of area active contacts. Subject to work investigately without cusation. (Ithour nowich's subject in the end of June, Subject aid not succeed in finding a suitable place that the end of Guly, Stis project, havever, made budget something made the ard relatively clandestine to do for howton without seriously contact is any of his trinciples. Subject, as it devoloped later, was interested in success him-a well allows even to his way purposes.

officion of libral districtions and the characteristic to the test of continued of the test of continued of the test of the continued 
13. In a result labject use substruently celled in by Curbelo and Cenode and asked to offer his services to bell the bricodtinental in its work in General Emerica. Co hower's advice ( which Subject sollicited) pose offer was accepted on condition that the work to be done would be serious (i.e. worth the personal misks Subject would have to run) and that Subject would be remaitted to cork without the overt involvement of the local babassy. These conditions were promptly accepted and Subject was invited to visit Havens are in so that he could be briefed on the spot by Camani Cienfuego and his staff.

## C- Biographical Lata Elecited from LIRTEG/3:

15. Subject was born in Mexico City in 1930 of a middle class family. Subject's grandfather was a well-known textile morchant was served some 12 years as president of the Chamber of Connerce. At least one of Subject's aunts is currently well-to-do and the owner of several apertment houses in Mexico City. Subject has at present little or no contact with his family.

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29. Subject was terried in 1750 at the arc of twenty years to a young Maxican woman from Leon, GTC..and durin the next ten years had at at least four children by her. He divorced his wife in about 1960, just prior to his departure for Subs, but he had not been on good terms with her for several years trior to the divorce. From about 1954 to 1960, subject worked in the Maxican Government Social Tervice among the Indians in the southern states of Maxico. Subject attributes sons of the tension that arose between his and his wife to this employment venture. He commented to Rowton that his first wife wanted to live a gulet normal life in Hexico City and was unwilling to share with him the hardships of social work in remote areas of tratical Maxico. During this period Subject and cally developed his own cuttle in printing and began to establish close contacts with lexican art circles.

21. Subject went to Suba in about 1960 "to join the revolution", apparently as a result of his increasingly leftist colitical symbathies. He did a relatively herve stound of cainting and mural work during his four-year residence in Guba, while at the came time working in the Ministry of labor and Education. In about 1961 he married a Guban vowah of Chinese critic from Santiero de Suba and the following year a (cirl) child was born to ther in dayena. Subject has told Rowton that he has had very titule contact with his first wife since his divorce and news to allmory. He added that his family, no sever, has continued to take as interest in his first wife had the children of his first tyrighte and has nothed to support them. Them wife had children of his first tyrighte and has nothed to support them with many Guban revolutionspies, particularly about he injure, when wife worked with Bubject in the diministry of Muchica at the time when arnol hooringer was service as Figister of rabor.

child (nom he had necessional artist but and 1984 with his new wife and child (nom he had necessional artist but appolemented the rather modest income he scauined from the calle of his mainting by teaching ant privately and in Nexican public spacels. His monthly income dur no deal and early 1986 did not exceed 3.000 resos.

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LARA AND CARLOS PERSABAL TO FAR HUGS THROUGH HIS MOTHER WHO ALLOWED TO VISIT HIM PRIOR TO HIS EXECUTION.

BROTHERS JUAN AND MIGUEL (LEON) BARRICS. WHO CLAIMED TO BE G-2 FAR, WHO ALSO SHARED CELLELOCK AND REMAINED IN CLOSE CONTACT LIRING-3 THROUGHOUT HIS DETENTION, SHOWED LIRING-3 REPORT THEY HAD RECEIVED JULY FROM "RELIABLE FAR SOURCES EXICO" DESCRIBING LIRING-3 NS "ANARQUICO, SIN PARTIDO, CONDUCTA BUENA, CONFIABLE, RESPONSABLE PERO DIFICIL CONTROLAR." FOLLOWING THIS GENERALLY FAVORABLE REPORT JUAN AND MIGUEL CEON) BARRIOS DISCUSSED FAR SITUATION FREELY WITH LIRING-3 AND ARRAHGED FOR SECRET CONTACT WITH FAR REPRESENTATIVE MEXICO "PAVEL". ALSO TOLD LIRING" 3 MONTES CONFLETELY STRIFFED OF POWER SINCE HAD IN FACT DESERTED REVOLUTION BY REMAINING OUTSIDE COUNTRY FOR EXTENDED PERICD. MONIES CURRENTLY MEXICO WHERE EXPECTED REMAIN. FAR HAS COMPLETELY BROKEN WITH GUAT CP. THIS ACCORDING LIRING-3 REFLECTED IN COOLNESS EVIDENT BETWEEN LEON BROTHERS AND FRANCISCO CORADO, CP RESPONSIBLE IN PAVON PRISON. FAR HAS NOT SEEN RECEIVING FINAUCIAL OR MAIERIAL SUPPORT FROM PERUMEN FOR PAST SIX MONTHS SINCE REFUSAL FAR ACCEPT PBRUMEN TERMS (SUPERVISION PBRUMEN EXPERTS, FAVORED POSITION

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2. LIRING-3 HAS I	BEGUN GIVE COMPLETE DETA	ILS ARREST.	
DETENTION AND CONTACT	IS ESTYLISHED DURING AND	AFTER RELEASE	
ASKED ROWTON KEEP SET	NSITIVE POINTS IN STRICT	EST CONFIDENCE	<b>⊕</b>
PARTICULARLY FROM LIF	RING-4, WHOM FEELS WOULD	NOT APPROVE H	(\$ (13)
CONTINUED POLITICAL A	ACTIVITY EVEN ON BEHALF	ROWTON. HIGH	IGHTS DE
DEBRIEFING FOLLOW:		. W. Japa	
A. ROLANDO "CEI	BOLLITA". FAR OFFICIAL,	WHO SHARED CEL	
BLOCK 422 WITH LIRIN	G-3 TOLD LATTER THAT HE	HAS SENT REPORT	1 /3/
OF ARREST FAVORABLE	TO LIRING 3 TOLD LATTER	THE HE HAD DE	ENT REPORT
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LARA AND CARLOS PERSABAL TO FAR HDGS THROUGH HIS MOTHER WHO ALLOWED TO VISIT HIM PRIOR TO HIS EXECUTION.

B. BROTHERS JUAN AND MIGUEL LEON) BARRIOS. WHO CLAIMED TO BE G-2 FAR. WHO ALSO SHARED CELLBLOCK AND REMAINED IN CLOSE CONTACT LIRING-3 THROUGHOUT HIS DETENTION, SHOWED LIFING-3 REPORT THEY HAD RECEIVED JULY FROM "RELIABLE FAR SOURCES WEXICO" DESCRIBING LIRING-3 AS "ANARQUICO, SIN PARTIDO, A COMDUCTA BUENA, CONFIABLE, RESPONSABLE PERO DIFICIL CONTROLAR. FOLLOWING THIS GENERALLY FAVORABLE REPORT JUAN AND MIGUEL CEOR) BARRIOS DISCUSSED FAR SITUATION FREELY WITH LIRING-3 AND ARRANGED FOR SECRET CONTACT WITH FAR REPRESENTATIVE MEXICO "PAVEL". ALSO TOLD LIRING-3 MONTES COMPLETELY STRIPPED OF POWER SINCE HAD IN FACT DESERTED REVOLUTION BY REMAINING OUTSIDE COUNTRY FOR EXTENDED PERIOD. MONTES CURRENTLY MEXICO WHERE EXPECTED REMAIN. FAR HAS COMPLETELY BROKEN WITH GUAT CP. THIS ACCORDING LIRING-3 REFLECTED IN COOLNESS EVIDENT BETWEEN LEON EROTHERS AND FRANCISCO CORADO, CP RESPONSIBLE IN PAVON PRISON. FAR HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVING FINATCIAL OR MATERIAL SUPPORT FROM PERUMEN FOR PAST SIX MONTHS SINCE REFUSAL FAR ACCÉPI PBRUMEN TERMS (SUPERVISION PBRUMEN EXPERTS, FAVORED POSITION

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FAGE 3 MEXICO CITY 7920 S E C R E I

FAR MEMBERS TRAINED IN PERUMEN) ALL FUND ON PAST CHANNELED

THROUGH GUAT CP ETC).

- THE TABLE AS TOLD ROWTON HE INSTRUCTED LEON BROTHERS HAVE "PAVEL" GET IN TOUCH WITH HIM CETERWINE HIS ADDRESS) THROUGH SALON DE LA PLASTICA MEXICAN BY POSING AS PERSON REPRESENTING "WILETA" WHO INTERESTED IN EUYING LIRING-3 WATERCOLORS @ ONE IN PRISON). LIRING-3 PLANS FOR COVER PURPOSES WORK IN SIGUEIROS STUDIO CUERNAVACA AND ARRANGE SOONEST BELLAS ARTES SPONSORED EXPOSITION HIS LATEST PAINTINGS.
- A. FILL POUCH COMPLETE LIRING-3 DEBRIEFING AS SOON

  IN COMPLETED. STATION HOPES LIRING AND PARTICULARLY LIRING-10

  WILL TRY ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH LIRING-3 AS HE CAN BE EXPECTED

  ARE

  WHITE INFO OF VALUE TO PERUMEN REGIME. STATION INTENDS HAVE

  LIRING-3 TELL LIRING-12 ENCUGH TO WET HIS APPETITE AND CONVINCE

  HIM LIRING-3 SHOULD BE DEBRIEFED AT SOME LENGTH. LIRING-3 WOULD

  TELL LIRING 10 HE WILLING OUTLINE DETAILS HIS ORDEAL INCLUDING

  INFO PERUMENS SHOULD KNOW BUT ONLY TO HIGH PERUMEN

  FUNCTIONARY AND IN PERUMEN. PRIOR TO POSSIBLE LIRING-3 TRIP

  PERUMEN, SUGGEST HQS \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_AND MEXICO CITY STATIONS

  DETERMINE WHAT CAN BE PASSED PERUMENS. CONFERENCE

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articles did little to prejudice the Gustemalans in favor of LIKING-3. As a matter of fact, the latter who succeeded in sending LIRING-4 a few letters via the Mexican Consul in Gustemala City who comes to visit him in jail, recently claimed that he was saved from a prison "transfer" by the Gustemalan army by the arrival of the Mexican Consul. LIRING-3 viewed this "transfer" purely and simply as an execution attempt.

- 4. LIRING-4 received even less help from LIRING who told her that there was nothing it could do to help LIRING-3. LIFING-4, on the advice contained in one of the notes sent from prison by LIRING-3, kept away from LIRING and its employees until she met LIRING-10 by accident at the office of one of the leftist papers on 27 July. LIRING-10 convinced her to resume her visits to LIRING. That the local PRZUMENS still have doubts about LIRING-3 despite his imprisonment in Guateusla is indicated by the statements made by Rodolfo REMYES (see ROWTON's 17 July report) to the effect that the latter would not be willing to help LIRING-3 until he found out on what side of "el griego" (ROWTON under false identity) he was. REMES added that LIRING suspects the "griego" of WOMIRM connections, although it has no definite proof of this.
- 5. Statements such as those made by REYES confirm the Station's belief that LIRING, upon orders from home, is still attempting to investigate POWTON. Such statements also remenforce the decision of the Station not to attempt, through lizinon, to obtain the release of 'TOTWO-1 Confirm attempt, in it leaked, would not only expose LIRING-3 to PBRUMEN and Guatemalan FAR reprisals. It would probably also have adverse repercussions on ROWION's security. LIRING-11 whom ROWION met briefly on 5 July (see EOWION's report dated 9 July) said nothing about LIRING-3's arrest when ROWION complained that mail which he said he sent to LIRING-3 remained unanswered. It is also to be noted that REYES, who of course knows that LIRING-4 is in Mexico, told EOWION that she was probably in PBRUMEN. This shows clearly the distrust with which LIRING views ROWION.
- 6. LIRING-4 developed close relationship with Orlando YUAPTZ of the Ministry of Culture new in Mexico at the invitation of the Mexican Communist mural painter David AIFLAO Siqueiros. By mid-September, in fact, SUARZZ was staying at LIRING-4's apartment although LIRING-4 claimed to ROWTON that there was no romancing between the two and that SUARZZ used her apartment because he was too broke to get one of his own. In view of LIRING-4's assessment of SUARZZ as very leftist and pro-AMTHUG-1 no effort was made to approach him.
- 7. Contacts between ROWTON and LIRING-4 have taken place with decreasing frequency because the usefulness of LIRING-4 to WOFIRM has sharply decreased and because LIRING-4 is core and more convinced that ROWTON cannot or will not help her obtain the release of LIRING-3. In her frantic efforts to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has in fact not had any contact with ROWTON since early September. Unless LIRING-3 is released by the Guatemalan authorities or receives only a light sentence keeping him in jail only a short time longer, it is doubtful that LIRING-4 will be of much use to ROWTON and the Station.

for Willard C. CURTIS

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Subject: Wallace B. Routon Meeting with LIRING/4.

- 1. Rowton met with LICING/A at the Punto Blanco Restaurant from about 1900 until 2015 on 16/5/68. LIRING/4 had telephoned Mowton's answering service and left a message that "Dr. Barragán would see him at his office" at that time and date.
- 2. LIRING/4 reported that she had learned that seven Suatemalans residing in Mexico City had been arrested along with Rodolfo Sandoval. She had learned this from Manuel Marcué Pardiñas but was not able to learn the identities of the other seven. She recalled that Marcué had said that Sandoval had been arrested on 5 May,1968, just after his wife had arrived from Guatemala, and that he, Marcué, was burdened with the support not only of Francisco Lara's family (wife, nother and children) but now of Sandoval's wife. Liming/4 understood that rarcué had moved these dependents into one of his several houses in the city. Liming/4 added that finally she decided to avoid any further contact with Marcué since he has become a complete nursance, telephoning and droppping in unannounced at all hours of the night.
- 3. LIBING/4 also reported that she had obtained a job at the Secretaria de Conercio y Industria, paying 1,200 pesos permenth, through Tergio Gonzalez Harin, and had started working regular hours (1000-1400) on 13/5/68. When she, however, mentioned this to Zacosta (FNU, phon.), Director of the office of Relaciones Culturales of the Sec Relaci mes Exteriores, he told her to quit the job immediately since it was not legal for her to work, particularly in a government office where official records were kept. He promised to help her find a job where she could work on the Q.T. without jeopardizing her inni ration status.
- 4. LIE EG/4 also reported that she ad received three short notes from LIRIEG/3 mailed from the prison where he is being detained. She stated that she was reassured by these letters that L/3 is in reasonably good health, despite the fact that he and his fellow arr/estees were not given any food for nine days following their arrest on 13/4/68.
- 5. LIBING/4 stated that she had talked to LIBING/2 after his return from FBRUMEN and found him very suntanned and thinner. I/2 told her that he had been cutting cane and had gotten engaged to a local woman while he was "on vacation". I/2 stated that he most probably would remain in Rexico through the Clympics, although he did not state when he planned to get married. I/2 regretted that he and his office could not help I/4 financial ly, but he encouraged I/4 to visit the balloc whenever she wished.

6. LIRING/4 also told Rowton that she had managed to find a suitable—apartment in the Edificio Condesa, Letra A. #6, for 1,100 peros per month, througher friend, Blanca Feña, who lives in apartment 2 of Letra O. She added that she had evercome the problem of the findor by applying to a sr. Nufez who advertised in the newspaper and provided her with a certain sra. Gloria Beltrán, Calle Tajin 21,Col. Navarte (at a fee of 330 peros). She also stated that she has already given the administrator of the edificio Condesa at 300 pero "gratificación" to hold the apartment until she can avange the findor contract.

7. Roston then suggested that liming/4 might consider making her true to PBRUNER in the near future since it appeared to him an ideal time. L/4 replied that, although the felt obliged to make the trip in view of her previous commitment to moston, she felt it premature. She stressed her com finund smulety even the college of lys, consenting that she was the only person who could be counted on to correspond with him, and that such correspondence from PERVARN would be very difficult and slow. Rewton then suggested that perhaps L/4 might be able to obtain a visa to visit L/3 for a short time to discuss with hir the desirability of the trip and arrange to provide him with paints and canvesses. L/4 agreed that this would ease her mind and permit her to make the trip to FBRUNER with less concer but she wondered whether a trip to Guatenala, provided, of course, that sh could get the visa, night possibly make matters worse for L/3 since L/4 would have to travel on her PBRUKEN passport. Rowton agreed with this and su gested the following: (a) L/# write immediately to the Mexican Consul asking him his opinion and requesting him to check it out with L/3; (b) L/4 discuss the matter sconest with L/2, explaining that she has decided to make her trip to PRECHER during L/3's imprisonment but that she hoped to visit him before leaving Mexico. 1/4 agreed and added that she would invite L/2 to dinner at the home of Blanca Peña (de Amand) where sh was currently staying as a house guest.

8. Rowton stressed that he did not wish under any circumst moes to "force L/4 to make the trip to PERUKEN, but he felt the time most opportune and he was not in a position financially to assist L/4 to any significant degree if she remained in Mexico. Rowton added that he failed to see how L/4 could earn enough in any "unofficial" job she might obtain. L/4 agreed to think the matter over and give Rowton her decision at their next meeting scheduled for 1300 on 20/5/63.

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Wallece B. Rodton

20 May, 1965

Subject: LIHING/4 Report of Convergation with HIRING/2.

1. At 1300 on 20 May, 1968, Timing/4 reported to Rowton at the Punto Blanco restaurant that she had seen LIKING/2 at the lIMING offices and. as instructed by moston, discussed with him her difficult finaboial situation resulting from the detention of LIATLG/3. She then stated that she was seriously considering taking her long planned trip to 18808.2. since there she would be able to resolve the problem of living expanses. HIMM. 6/2 sympathized with her but asked her not to make any rash decision. He pointed out that although her toforary financial problem would be solved, the noral obligation she had to follow LIRING/3's case from as close to Gustemala as possible would argue in favor of her whiting a little more. LIRING/4 told moreon that she felt that LIRING/8 was prompted to say this in light of a comment she had gust made to min that a certain Lic. Castillo, a Guatemalan layyer affiliated with the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City, had gottan in touch with her over the weekend and told her he had come to Mexico City in connection with LIRTIG/3's case which he was handling at the request of the Embassy. ( LIRING/4 told Rowton that Castillo was staying in room 904 of the El Presidente Hotel and that she talked to him there for about 45 minutes.)

- 2. LIBING/2 then said that he would do everything he could to find some sort of work to help HRI/G/4 financially. He connented that work in the LIRING offices proper was out of the question, since the only persons emplyed there now are party members and from the IBRUMEN capital. He sided, however, that he would propose to the LIRING "consejo" that LIRING/4 be given a position in the outside cultural office. He stressed that he could not promise anything, but he would do what he could to coavince the powers that be.
- 3. LIRING/4 premised mowton to press HARNG/2 for this job since it would indicate the extent to weich the HARNG Chief trusted her and give her some official access to the establishment, limited though it might be.

W.B. Rewton

Subject:

WA 1,500 B. Fowton Reeting with LImING/4.

- 1. Rowton met with IIkING/4 at the Biana Restaurant, Calle Mississippi, from 1300 until about 1410 on 11 June, 1968. LIRING/4 reported that she had finally moved into the spartment in the Edificio Condesa with the few pieces of furniture of the Tacubaya apartment. She stated that she intended to remain in close touch with her friend Blanca Feña de Amand and, of course, Catalina Cepero, at shose homes she hoped to be able to take her main meals. IIAING/4 added that she was still attmepting to find some sort of work to help her meet her expenses, as well as to find a person, preferably a FREUNIX student, to rent a room in her apartment.
- 2. With regard to employment Herical eteted that LIRING/2 had told her the previous week that his recommendation that she been employed in the (outside) LIRING cultural office had been turned down and consequently she had appealed to hexican friends to help her find employment. She also told Rowton that she had queried HRING/2 about FERUMEN students who might share her spartzent but was told that the only female students (two) at present in Kexico were studying in Fatzcuaro.
- 3. LIRING/4 continued that she had been receiving letters regularly from LIRING/3 directly from his place of confinement. She showed Rowton a portion of one of the letters in which LIRING/3 stated that there were about 25000 prisoners in all and that he feels obliged to share whatever food he can purchase with the money sent to him by LIRING/4 with six others who are closest to him and whose relatives cannot provide even the essentials of a basic diet. According to LIRING/4, LIRING/3 has not complained about what appear to be very difficult conditions but has revealed his constant fear of physical violence, the threat of which he feels hangs over the prison. LIRING/4 told Rowton that she had finally obtained officially notarized statements from the proper Mexican authorities testifying to LIRING/3 s bona fices as an artist, as requested by the Nexican Consul. The gave Rowton a letter from the latter which requests this information(copy of which is attached).
- 4. LIRING/4, in reply to Rowton's queries, stated that she still hoped to be able to make the trip to FRUMEN but could not consider leaving Fexico at this time in view of LIRING/3's situation and the fact that she was the only point of contact he had on the outside. Rowton sympathized with her but stressed that his ability to help her financially was limited by her

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performance in terms of the contract between them. Rowton reginded LIRING/4 that he contract had terminated as of 15pMay,1968, and could be extended only on the condition that she would be able to make the trip. He added that he falt he could pay her for the period 15 May until 15 June,1968, but that would have to constitute a final payment unless LIMING/4 could commit herself to future production. Rowton added that in addition he would have to deduct the 1,875 peace he gave to her as a travel advance inasmuch as this money was not used for the purpose intended.

5. LIGISG/4 replied that, much to her regret, she could not make any firm commitment regarding the trip at the moment. She stated that she was attempting to maintain friendly relations with the LIRING personnel but had to be confirme in the light of Liming's's edmonition to her to avoid contact with the establishment ( "la casa grande" as he described it. She then stated that she had attended a play on the evening of 7 June at shich she met socially with LIRING personnel in the audience. She added that IIRING/10 greeted her codially and that she spoke briefly with LIRING/9 and LIRING/13 as well as LIRING/16. LIRING/4 also stated that she had learned from LI.IEG/17, who had just returned from an unexpected TDY that their mutual friend "Echemendia" had been called up on the carpet for the inferior job he had done during his last commercial mission to Mexico City: IIRING/4 also reported that she had been given a very brilef note from her friend Yolanda hand-carried by IIRING/17 in shich Yolanda wrote that she as still hoping that LIRING/4 would be able to make the trip. ROWTON COMMENT: Rowton feels that LIRING/4 will make the trip to PBRUAEN wit in the next two months or sooner, provided she is assured that LIRING/3 is resigned to his fate and that efferything has been done to support his appeal. Rowton has told LIRIEG/4 that he can give her only minimum financial support in the future, and that only on behalf of LIRING/3. Rowton feels that LIRING/4 will have great difficulty supporting herself even on a subsistence level during the next month, and will probably reconsider her decision regarding the trip. Rowton feels he should not put any direct pressure on LIRING/4 in the light of personal situation.

SECRE! dallace B. Rowton

# SECRET

HAM. DEUN REL MICS EXEMPLES. AND MYNS A LA CALL CREADE. URGENIE ENVIOL DIRECTAL MACHEMA.

DISOS I CARLOS

COLLANCA PENAL ETRA C"DEPTE 2
EDIFICIO CONFESA LETRA C"DEPTE 2
AV. VERALRUZ VIVIATERUALA

(ENTRUDA TOLLATERIALA)

MEXICO II. D. F.

CECRFT

Ing. Ceterio St. Ferramo

## SECRET

Guatemala, 21 de mayo de 1958.

Sra. Miriaz Chichay de Júrado. Múxico, D. P.

Estimada Sma:

Mo refiero a si grata carta de 17 del actual para informar a Ud. que Carlos se encientra sin novedad, su especto físico
co innegorable y su anho may reventado, pues na sacido asimilar
esta emergencia con filosofía.

despecto a su situación, estamos bastante optimistas pues configuos ampliamente en la rectitui del juez. Yá se presenta-ron tras terrigos de descargo y el el curdo de la présente semana se pomerá feclaración a otros ios. Hemos corrido con la sucrte de que para todas las diligencias los plazos se han acortado al máximo.

Ni un solo momento lo nemos dejado solo, tanto a él como a Manuel, pues constantemente se les ha estado visitamio, unas veces nuestro incargado de Regocios, otras nuestro abogado asesor y el suscrito.

Su carta anterior la recibió en propias manos y tambie: le informé de la tarjeta que Ud. me puso.

Tanto la Sra. Enroué de Persabal, como la esposa de Manuel, los estuvieron visitando casi a diario durante su estancia en ésta. No les ha faltado nain pues la 3 a. Tarcué de jó 175 dolares para que se les estuviera proviendo de lo necesario. A 3-rlos se le llevó un olock para dibujo que pidió y se les llevan periodicamente cigarros, etc.

El jueves iré s verlos de nuevo y yá le informaré de su carta.

No creo que sea necesario que venga Ud. pues puede tener la seguridad de que estanos haciendo todo lo que está en nuestras manos por resolverles su situación a la brevedad posible. No sería de lo malo que esté ed. en contacto con la Sría de Relaciones para estar al tanto del caso, pues estoy informando constattemente del curso del proceso. Creo que será cuestión de más o menos tiempo pero tengo confianca en que todo se resolverá favorablemente.

Por conducto de la esposa de Maduel le chvis recado que sería conveniente enviara una constancia de Bellas artes abonando la conducta de su esposo y que este documento lo llevara a legalizar ante el Consulado de Guatenala en México (Vallarta # 1) pues ayudaría mucho para probar su solvencia moral.

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### SECRET

Perdóneme si con enterioritad no le había informado, pero consideré que era innocesario ascerlo mientras no se tuviera algo concreto como es la declaración de los testigos de descargo.

Tenga confianza y calma que estamos viendo éste caso con profundo interés y sumpatin.

Le ruego saludar de mi parte a mi buen amigo Daniel (su suegre) de quien hace diempo no tengo noticias y decirle que su amigo de Arriaga lo recuerta con afecto.

Procuraré tenerla informada y puede/escribirme cuantas veces lo dasee.

Ludinia i de

Suyo afmo. atto. y S. S.

encent of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the second of the se

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18 Juce, 1968

#### CONTACT REFORT

- 1. Agent: LIRING/4
- 2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1300,18/6/68; Diana Restaurant.
- 3. Date and Site of Next Meeting: 1030, 20/6/68; Diana Restaurant.
- 4. Information/Reports Passed by Agent: LIRIN/4 reported to Roston that she had received two distressing letters from LIRING/3 complaining about the miserable conditions under which he is living very meager food, unsanitary quarters, and the constant fear of physical violence. LIRING/4 showed moston a paragraph of one of the letters in which LIRING/3 asks her to appeal to the "socio" to influence the judge by a gratificación of 100 quetzals so that he would dismiss one case when it fintally case to trial early the following month. LIRING/3 stated that the judge to be influenced was a certain Juan Sanchez, Official Tercero del Juzgado Cuarto de Primera Instancia. LIRING/3 added that he felt there was no other solution, since it had become evalent that the Nexican Imbassy could do nothing to speed up the final release and that if Roston could not intervene, anything could happen.

HIMING/4 also reported that she had been asked by LIMING/9 to see him the next day (19/6/68) at his office. She did not know the purpose of the invitation, but assured LIMING/9 wanted to be briefed on the latest developments in the LIMING/3 case.

5. Information/Guidance Given to Agent: Rowton sympathized with LIEING/4 in her distress over the desperate situation being faced by LIEING/3 but stressed that intervention on his part was not as easy as LIEING/3 might think. He pointed out that since LIEING/4 to date had not been able to make the IBRUNEN trip he could not ask his own colleagues in Europe to intervene through their Guatenslan government contacts and that therefore anything that he could do himself would not be effective. LIEING/4 did not volunteer any indication of her intention regarding the trip, and Mowton felt he could not press her in view of her frame of mind at the time. He suggested that they meet again after LIEING/4 talked with LIEING/9 in the hope that the latter might make some important comments on the case.

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W. Rovton

9 July, 1968

Subject: Wallace B. Rowton Meeting with LIRING/11.

- 1. After several days of attempts by Rowton to met with LIRING/11 in the wicinity of his (LIRING/11's) residence (which is about six blocks frog Rowton's home) Howton finally succeeded at about 1600 on 5 July, 1968.
- 2. Rowbon hadchecked the home address of LIRING/11 about 1550 that day and when he had found that LIRING/11's car had not been parked in front. hailed a cab passing in the opposite direction. As an after-thought however. Rooten asked the call to go elound one block on the off chance that he might catch LIRING/11 approaching his home from the intersection of Gutenberg and Ejercito Nacional. Fortunately just as Rowton's cab approached LIRING/11's apartment house, he spotted LIRING/11 alighting from his car in front of the building. Rowton stopped the cab and ran over to great LIRING/11.
- 3. LIRING/11 although obviously surprised at seeing Rowton in that area. responded cordially. Rowton alleged that he had been in Switzerland and Canada most of the time since he had last seen LIRING/11, and to his regret had lost contact withth watural friends ?LIRING/3 and Iden A. Rowton continued that he had written LIRING/3 at least five letters from Europe mint had not received any answer, and had found that he had moved from his Atoyac address as well as his Tacubaya studio. LIRING/11 did not volunteer any information concerning the whereabouts of LIRING/3 but immediately gave worton the news that Iden A was working at a sort of night club (giving the name and street, on which it was located.)
- 4. Rowton then said that he had hoped to be able to invite LIRING/11 to-lunc... but he had to take a short trip to Nuevo Larddo to attempt to arrange for the purchase of a car. (This was thrown out as bait winew in view of a comment by LIRING/4 that LIRING/11 was scheduled to return PCS and would have to sell his car). LIRING/11 did not react to this, simply suggesting that Rowton get in touch with him as soon as Rowton returned.
- 5. Rowton then returned to the waiting cab and continued his trip, taking the opportunity to mention to the driver in the course of conversation that he was a businessman from Europe (Switzerland) who often visited Mexico.

Wallace Browton DIII

9 Jul<del>y, 19</del>68

Subject: LIRING/4 megent of activities.

1. Rowton met with LEFE. 0/4 it 1900 on 8 July,1968, it the Sears Restaurant on Insurgentes. Fe had not seen her for the previous ten days because of his leave (28/6/68-5/7/68).

2. Halled/4 reported that an old friend, Tien A, had arrived the previous week from the iShuall capital, and that she had seen him several times prior to his moving to Guernavaca. She commented that Iden a was divorced and lived alone (his wife having been a natorious model of loose morals). She added that his apparent are is 40, and that he must have political influence since he obtained a six-month exit parmit following the invitation of Siqueiros.

3. LIMING/4 then related that she received a message early in the previous week that Iden A was trying to get in touch with her and she accordingly went to the LIMING offices on 27/6/68 to find its address. When she entered the office of LLARG/9, she found it prouded and was on the point of leaving (after getting the address of Iden A) When LIKERG/9 approached her and asked her to take a ride in his car so that he could "chat "with her. IIRING/4 told moston that she assumed that LIRING/9 was enroute to one of the Secretariats in a rush and had asked her to accompany him to that he could save time by talking to her on the way. She was therefore surprised when he drove ber to the Vaca begra de Insurgentes and later returned with her to the offic 4. According to LIBING/4, LIKING/9 asked her routine gutstions as to how she was making out living as she was on her own. LIATEG/4 relied that she was doing the best she could to raise enough money to survive, through part-time ... work arranged by Sra. Chumaceira of Artes Alasticas, the sale of some of LIRING/3's paintings and financial help from her father (all of which is partly true). She then asked LIHING/9 for a "loan" to tide her over the weekend, to which he responded with a 100 peso bill. IIAIAG/9 commented that things were going well with his office financially as a result of the increased fees. He dropped the figure 36,000 (UJ) as receipts for the previous mont LIEING/4 asked acaton for his opinion as to why LIAING/9 would take off an hour or so on such a busy day to drive her around town, commenting that she herself could not understand his motives. She aid not get the impression that be war interested in her personally since in that case he would have invited himself to her apartment to asked her out to dinner in the evening 5. Rowton replied that he assumed that LIADS/ had received some sort of

official request from his superiors to determine the conditions under which LIRING/4 was living as well as her general attitude following the arrest of LIRING/3. LIRING/4 promised to continue to see LIRING/9 and her other LIRING friends as often as possible, but straused that she could not target herself at them without attracting undue attention.

6. IIRIDS/4 then continued that when she finally got in touch with Iden A he was acat cordial, inviting her for a trip to Cuernavaca, and expressing concern for the welfare if IIRIDS/3. Iden A commented to IIRIDS/4 that he had arrived from the IRRIME capital with only twenty Mexican person which he had left from a trevious trip and that he would have to count on the generouity of Siqueiros for his living expenses during his anticipated three-month stay in Mexico. IIRIDS/4 teld Acaton that she felt certain that Ifin i was not a ST leader, although she could not as yet determine whether or not her was pro-regime. The explained that at their first meetings she felt it best to steer clear of politics and let Iden A do the talking. IIRIG/4 added that she expected to see Iden A whenever he came to hexico City and if and when she herself could take a brief trip to Guernavaca (if Rowton felt) that necessary).

7. LIRING/4 then asked whether Rowton had been able to arrange soke sort of intervention with the judge who would preside over the court in LIRING/3's case. Then Rowton replied that he had asked some of his friends to inform his as to the status of the case, she commented that Iden B had offered to do what he could since he had close friends among the Guatemalans. Rowton suggested that LIRING/4 get in touch with Iden B again and find out as many details as possible concerning the channels he would use both in Mexico Cit and Guatemala City. LIRING/4 explained that at that point all she knew was that Iden I whom she described as an active number of the CF Mexico, had a close friend among the Guatemalan exiles and that this friend could forward bribe manay to the judge through his family in Guatemala City. LIRING/4 proxised wowton that she would try to meet with this Guatemalan to get details from him.

8. LIRING/4 also reported incidentally that Halled/16 had left PCS and that her friendstle wife of Halled/17, was planning to go on home leave in the near future. She added that she thought that LIRING/16's replacement was a bit "tonto". LIRING/4 also mentioted that she had learned from Iden A that Iden C had been forced to take "indefinite leave" from her job and was tantmount to dismissal.

SECRET

Wallace B. Rowton

9 July,1968

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of Activities.

Iden à is Orlando Suarez, Director de Cultura.

Iden B is Arturo Serrano.

Iden C is Mercedes Morales.

Vallace B. Rowton

SECR.

12 July, 1968

Subject: LIminG/4 Report of Activities.

1. Mowton met with LIMING/4 at a safercom of the Suites Marne for about two hours on the norming of 10 July and again on 12 July, 1968. Rowton attempted to clarify his position for the future with LIKING/4, as well as LIRING/3. He stated that he was doing the best he could to determine the probable outcome of the case of LIKIN /3, and stressed that any precipitous intervention, even if could be arranged, might do more harm to LI-RING/3 than good at this point. LIRING/4 confessed that her only concern at the moment was somehod to get LIRING/3 out of prison and back to Mexico. She admitted that it was hard for her to be concerned about the future. pairiouserly about either her or IImING/3's usefulness to morton, in view of what had happened to him. She said that she felt he had sacrificed enough during his three month imprisonment in such a "horrible" place, and that Rowton should himself "influence" the judge to speed up the formalities and issue a verdict simply expelling LIRING/3 and his companion. She did not see any other solution in view of the inability of the Lexican Consulate to arrange the release.

2. In reply to Rowton's query, LIRING/4 stated that she had seen Arturo Serrano of the CP Mexico during lunch at his home on 10 and 11 July, 1968, and that the latter had told her that he would arrange for the 100 Quetzal bribe to be transmitted to the judge concerned via the CF Mexico and the CP Guatemala. He added that, of course, the bribe would finally be offered by a person in Guatemala completely clean of any CF ties. LIRING/4 continued to Rowton that she themalleged to Jerrano that she would telephone her father at once so obtain the money. Berrano suggested that a latter or telegran might be more advisable, at which LIRING/4 wrote a letter to her father in his presence and accepted an offer from him to accompany her to the post office to mail the letter at once. LIRING/4 told howton that in fact she does not expect any further finacial help from her father (who is unwitting of LIRING/3's situation) since he is very ill with cancer of the throat and in no position to help her at this time.

3: Roston then expressed to ITalic/4 his doubts that the bribe would work but he agreed that it might be worth trying, particularly through Serrano. Rowton added that if this did not wart, third would be only one alternative. Rowton, through his contact in Europe, might be able to approach the Guatemalans on a level higher than the judge and offer to supply them with

information on the Guetemalan rebel activities in PERUMEN. This would of course necessitate IImING/4's traveling to IEMUMEN and remaining there at least two months to obtain such information. Rowton felt norally certain that through this offer he could arrange for a mild sentence for LIRING/3 and fisabily 6 months, three months of which he has already served) and subsequent expulsion to Fexico.

4. IIRING/4 took this proposal very seriously, at first expressing revulsion at the thought of providing information that would nost probably mean the arrest and execution of revolutionaries who might be the subject of her report but subsequently accepting the idea, when assured by Rowton that he himself would control the dissemination of such information. Rowton stressed that he was presenting this proposal on his own so that he could get had initial no action. Rowton added that even if this were acceptable to the Guatemalen authorities, the release of LIRING/3 could not be expected for several months this is until IIRING/4 had accomplished her mission in FBRUNER, although his living conditions might be improved by removal to another prison (if such existed) where he could be treated more humanely.

Rowton Comment: Rowton made the above proposal to LIRING/4 to determine her true attitude toward the release of LIRING/3 and to establish stronger control over her in the event she does make the trip.

Rowton feels that it might be feasible for Guatemala liaison to arrange the eventual release of LIRING/3 or at least to speed up the formalities (in the event that it is planned to issue a stiff sentence) in exchange for the alleged recruitment of LIRING/3's wife who could be sent to FERUMEN for the collection of information of interest not only to "CFIRM but also Guatemala. This would, of course, blow LIRING/4 to the Guatemalans, but this might be the only scaution if LIRING/3 is given a long prison term.

dallace B. Rowton

SEURET

SEC4-1 17 July. 1982 JULICH 201-561833

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of Rowton Affiliation with SCFIRE.

- 1. Rowton met with IIRING/4 at the Duca D'Este tea shop from 1200 until about 1245 on 15/7/68. IIRING/4 stated that she had again spent the seek-end in Cuernavaca with Crlando Suarez, staying at the Casino de la Selva sith her daughter in a room of an artist friend of Suarez (who had gone to Mexico City for the week-end). She added that she had been to visit the CIECC (Centro Internacional de Documentation) again with Crlando Suarez and was impressed by its extensive library as sell as the leftist crientation of its staff. The recalled the name of the director as Larry Green and one other northamerican McGregor (fnu) from the University of Fuebla. The said that she learned in the course of conversation that a group of the students (mossibly ten in marker) had been invited to TIRING/4 also commented that Crlando Suarez had been invited to give a lecture on PBRUMEN culture (for a fee of 200 pesos) although as yet the date had hot been determined.
- 2. LIRING/4 then stated that she had again visited the home of Arturo Serrano of the Mexican CP and that on this occasion Serrano's wife had told her that he had succeeded in locating Rodelfo Reyes and had told him about the current financial plight of LIRING/4 and urged him to help ner if her could. Serrano's wife continued that Reyes then remarked: "I won't help her until I find out on what side LIRING/3 is. If he's with "El Griege I won't help since the G-2 of LIRING told me that they suspect him of being with MOFIRM, although they have no proof ("datos"). They also think he's an arms sauggler." Serrano's wife added that Reyes concluded with the statement that if it turns out that LIRING/3 acted on his own, then he would personally go to the LIRING Chief and have him request the President of Mexico to intervene.
- 3. LIRING/4 stated that although these comments of Rodolfo Reyes were apparently not taken seriously by Serrano or his wife (Serrano at this same coession offered again to pass bribe money to the CP Gusterala via the CP Mexico), she herself was badly shaken and angry with Reyes whom she described as a homosexual gossip, worse than a woman. She stated that she intended to tell LIRING/9 that Rodolfo Reyes owed her money for the use of her telephone to call the ABRUMEN capital several months previously and had never paid her howton agreed that this would not Golf serve to collect the badly meaner but also dispel any notion Reyes might have that Rost the telephone call.

## SELICE

18 July, 1968

Subject:

LIRING/4 Report on CIDOC, Cuernavaca.

- 1. Rowton saw LIRIEG/4 again briefly at 1000, 18/7/68, at the Duca d'Este tea shop, to pass her 500 pesos to forward to LIMIEG/3 with vitamins.
- 2. LIREG/A reported that she was continuing to see Orlando Suares and hoped to ascertain the exact data when he would be giving the lecture at CIDCO in Guernavaca. In reply to Rowton's queries, she is stated that she had first gotten in contact with CIDCO through Prof. Jerjes Aguirre, whom she and LIAING/3 had known in PERUMIN where Aguirre had spent some six years (part of the time at the University which LIRING/4 had herself attended). LIRING/4 continued that Aguirre had recently mentioned to her at a chance meeting that he was giving a series of lectures at CIDCO and was being well paid (125.00 US) per lecture. Then LIRING/4 met Aguirre again in Guernavace he termodycad mer to the director, a certain larry Green, and to an American Frof McGregor, who both invited her, LIRING/4, to give a lecture on LAUMIN Women.
- 3. LIRING/4 told Routon that, elthough she was interested in the compensation she felt totally uncuslified, and took the cucasion of Crlando Suarez' visit to introduce him and recommend that he give a lecture. Crlando Suarez jumped at the chance to make some money to supplement the meager allowance doled cut to him by Siqueiros, and is prepared to give the lecture when a desimite date is set.
- 4. IIRING/4 continued that when she casually mentioned this developentn to the wife of Arturo Berranc (Ruth); the latter exclaimed: "Ch. don't you know that CIDCO is just an instrument of WOFIRM. You might as well recommend Crlando to the IBRING Embassy here." LIRING/4 was shocked by this and after reflection thought is best to repeat the comment to Crlando Suarez. She did this when he visited Mexico City on 15-16 July (and stayed at her apartment). Suarez' only comment was that such people as Ruth Berrano were "sectarian" and whether CIDCO was with "OFIRM or not did not bother him.
- 5. LIKENG/4 also commented incidentally that Ruth Serrano was escerting a group of French journalists from L'Humanité" around town and that she had complained to LIKENG/4 that she had been given only 200 pesos by the CP Mexico to cover the expenses (fighte!). L/4 recalled that Ruth S Trano had mentioned that these Frenchmen had been to PBRUMEN and were planning to return very shortly.

Wallace B. Rowton

Sig

Subject: Wallace B. kowton Recontact with RODOLFO REYES.

- 1. Rowton met Rodolfo Reyes at about 2230 in the dining room of the Vendimia Restaurant and night club (60 calle Liverpool) by design on 15 July,1968. Rowton had previously been informed by LIRING/11 that Reyes was currently working at the Vendimia and felt that he should meet Reyes again to pass along the story that he had given to LIRING/11 that he was unable to locate LIRING/3 or LIRING/4 in the hope that Reyes would disclose LIRING/3's arrest.
- 2. As soon as Rowton met Reyes the latter invited him to a corner table with what appeared to be superficial cordiality. He asked howton how he had located him and appeared a little surprised when Rowton said that LIRING/11 had given him hthename of the night club and the address. Rowton then alleged that he had been away for the past three months in Switzerland and Canada and just the previous week in Monterrey and Nuevo Laredo trying to buy a car (Rowton had given the same story to LIRING/11). Rowton continued that when he returned he had been unable to locate LIRING/3 or his wife and that they had not replied to his letters from Europe.
- 3. Reyes then revealed that LIRING/3 had been arrested in Guatemala and charged with the murder of three men! Rowton feigned surprise, shock and fear at this news. He told Reyes that this might have serious consequences for his commercial contacts, whose names LIRING/3 might reveal as well as for himself. Reyes then said he thought LIRING/3 was very stupid to get himself arrested in such a country where anything can happen inside as well as outside of jail. In reply to Rowton's query Reyes stated that LIRING/4 was probably in PBRUMEN.
- 4. When Rowton remarked that he could not believe that LIRING/11 had refused to tell him the news about LIRING/3, Reyes replied that it was quite possible that LIRING/11 did not know about it, especially since he, Reyes, had just leanred about it some three days previously. At this point the conversation was interrupted by the arrival at the table of a negro choreographer and his (white) Mexican wife, who appeared to be close friends of Reyes. Rowton sat with them through the floorshow and in the course of conversation Rowton discovered that the negro was a Cuban who had emigrated to Mexico some fifteen years previously. Neither he nor his wife appeared to be interested in politics. They both seemed dedicated to his carger in Bellas Abtes.

Wallace B. Rowte

#### CENTACT REPORT

- 1. Agent: LIkIKG/4
- 2. Date and Site of Eesting: 1700, 21/8/63 and 1600, 22/8/68; Stuites Earne.
- 3. Next Meeting: 1000, 28/8/68; Duca diste coffeeshop.
- 4. Information/Re, orts lassed by Agent:

LIRING/4 stated that she had been doing her best to get Mexican leftist writers and artists to show interest in LIRING/3's case by sending telegrams and letters to the Guatemalan government urging his prompt release. She should togten the artille in Sucesos which she claimed credit for (attached herewith) but did not appear to have any knowledge of the notice in the 5 August edition of the News, commenting that it must have been picked up from articles she had planted in other Mexican papaers LIRING/4 reported that she 'ad purposely avoided direct contact with the LIBING office, especially during the student demonstrations, since it appeared to be closely watched by the local police. The stated that she was maintaining some contact, however, through her friendship with Iden A, who called on her whenever he came to Nexico City and on occasion stayed at her apartment overnight. She acded that Iden Algenerally stayed at the apartment of IIaliG/2 shen he was in town although he commented to her that he felt he was imposing on LialkG/2 and his roomates in the already ted quarters. LIRING/4 added that Iden A informed her that LIKILG/9 had returned to PBRUMEN AND was remaining there during the student unrest in order to protect himself", implying that LIRING/9 had been in direct touch with some of the student leaders and could not afford to compromise himself and his office by his physical presence in Mexico City during the demonstrations. In reply to Royton's query, !I.A.I.G/4 stated that although Iden #

In reply to Roston's query, ITATAG/4 stated that although Iden A appeared to be quite liberal in his views and mixed easily with all sorts of people he ran into, he was definitely a "revolutionary" at heart and she assumed loyal to the present IBAUAEN GCVERLMENT.

LIRING/4 aslo reported that she hored to persude and influential lawyer from Chiapas to travel to Gustemala City on her behalf

to investigate LIRING/3's case and possibly influence the judge in his favor. She added that she was quite sure that the lawyer, who was a personal friend of LIRING/3, would take the case without a fee, but she felt obliged to offer to cover his expenses. Rowton suggested that she talk this over with the family of Iden 3 who would also benefit from wear any success the lawyer might have.

amount of money ( some 300 poons) in tolerance, pour clause and vitamins for LIRING/3 since his arrest. She stated that she was able to survive and meet these expenses by supplementing the money given to her by Rowton through the sale of works produced by LIRING/3 and sent to her periodcially. Rowton asked LIRING/4 to keep account of such incidental expenses, since he felt it better to charge these items off as operational expenses rather than to continue to charge money given to be on LIRING/3's behalf simply as "servicios".

Wallace B. kowton

520.2.

23 August,1968

Iden A:

Orlando Suarez

Iden B:

Carlos Perzabal

WALLACE B. Rowton

SECR\_.

## CUCADUA

Por AZOR

## Y SUCCEDINOS



Carlos Perzabal, catedrático de la Universidad de México, y Carlos Jurado Delmar, destacado pintor maticana, con extremos que llegan al absurtirado de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Categoria de la Cate

Los dos mexicanos están propiamente s e c uestrados por las autoridades guatemaltecas desde el 15 de abril del año en curso. Se les hacen una serie de cargos dignos de la mentalidad de un mosquito. Desde luego, como es costumbre en estos casos, cuatro meses después de su ilegal aprehensión ni siquiera han sido puestos a disposición de un juez que los juzgue.

El licenciado Antonio Carrillo Flores, nuestro secretario de Relsciones Exteriores, ha venido interviniendo en defensa de estos infortunados compatriotas, pero hasta ahora sus gestiones oficiales no han sido atendidas debidamente por el gobierno de Guatemala.

Para que usted, lector, tenga idea del atropello incalificable de que son victimas los dos mexicanos, publicamos copie de la carta que Carlos Jurado Delmar y Carlos Perzabal dirigidad information de Derechos Humanos de la ONU:

Comisión por los Derechos Humanos.

ONU.

Por este medio nos dirigimos a ustedes, pidiéndoles su intervención en nuestro caso.

El día 13 de abril de 1968, mientras nos diriglamos pacificamente a la República del Salvador y Honduras, fuimos detenidos conluto de violencia por elementos del Ejército de Guatemala, en un lugar llamado "El Cable" a cuatro kilómetros escasamente de la frontera de México co n Guatemala denominada "La Merulla".

De ahí, llevados a un lugar llamado "Buenos Aires" donde permanecimos per una noche sujetos a torturas fisicas y morales. Al dia siguiente fuimos conducidos en un avión (No. 540) de la FAG a la ciudad capital, donde quedamos encarcelados en el 20. Cuerpo de la Policía Nacional, sujeros también a torturas físicas y morales que hicieron y hacan poligrar nuestra vida.

Tan obvio es el error cometido con nesotros, que a pesar de que nuestra detención se llevó a cabo desde el : la 13 de abril, como puede ser probado fácilmente con testigos presenciales y desde entonces mantenidos en prisión, el gobierno guatemalteco nos acusa de haber sido detenidos el día 17 del mismo mes, en las calles de la ciudad. IIRepartiendo propaganda subversiva!! Incongruencia mayor no cabe en ninguna mente que se precie de normal.

Desde el día 26 de abril de 1968 fulmos confinados al campo de concentración de Pavón, m a I llamado "Granja Penal". Donde las condiciones de vida para los reclusos y la violencia al que están sometidos, son espeluznantes como puede ser fácilmente comprobado por la H. Comisión de los Derechos Humanos.

Hemos sido sujetos a un

"juicio" que el gobierno guatemalteco alarga delibertadamente con el único procésito de inibrir en arrac y a la vez perjudicamos; por ásto y sobre todo por considerar en grave peligro nuestra integridad física, pedimos la rápida intervención de la H. Comisión de los Derechos Humanos para que se exija nuestra inmediata libertad.

Atentamente, Cárcel de Pavón, Guatemala, Julio 68. Carlos Jurado, Pintor Miembro del Salón de la Plastica Mexicana.

Carlos Perzabal, Catedrático de la Universidad de México.

El actual ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Guatimala, licenciado Emilio Arenales Catalári, ha sido mencionado varias veces como candidato a presidir la Comisión del Derechos Humanos de la ONU. Ojalá no espere a obtener ese cargo para intervenir en este caso, que según parece es de su especialidad.



CARLOS JURADO DEL-MAR, secuestrado por les entoridados quatemaltecas



LIC. ANTONIO CARRI-LLO FLORES en defense de



CARLOS PERZABAL secuest ado por les autoride-

29 August, 1968

## William Care

1. Agent: LIRIEG/4

2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1000, 28/8/68; Duca d'Este Tearcom.

3. Next Meeting: Same time and place, 2/9/68.

4. Information/heports Passed by Agent:

LIMING/4 informed Rowton that she had run into LIRING/10 and his assistant, Iden 1, the previous afternoon (27/8/68) at about 1345 at the office of the director of Siempre, where she had gone in connection with added publicity for ITAING/3. She stated that TTETY (An mantal hom could all will am aveau and asked how she was doing. He seemed ganuinely disturbed to hear that things were no better, and commented that he had been hearing about her from time to time from Iden B, but felt that she should make her problems known to the LIMING office herself. When LIRING/4 commented that Iden C had told her and Idea B that it might be wiser for her to avoid contact openly with the LIRING office, LIRING/10 brushed this off, remarking that he felt it would be perfectly alright for LIKING/4 to come in whenever she felt it necessary for moral and whatever material help could be offered.

LIRING/4 teld Reston that in view of this comment of LIRING/10, she visited the LIRING office early that same morning (28/8/68) and found that LIRING/2 had returned from his TDY. She said that LIRING/2 greeted her cordially as usual, but he apparently did not have time to that with her on that occasion.

5. Information/Guidance Given to Agent:

Rowton asked LIRIEG/4 to follow up on her contact with LIRIEG/10, especially since he appeared so friendly. Rowton suggested that 1/4 ask L/10 to appeal to the Director of Siempre to give L/3's case good publicity. L/4 promised to do so and commented that L/10 speared to be quite chumny with the director and apparently had a luncheon date with him for that same day.

allace B. Royton

SECRE

29 August, 1968

Iden's of LIRING/4 Contact Report

Iden A: Felix Lana Mederos

. Iden B: Orlando Suarez

Iden C: Jesus Cruz Gonzalez

Wallace B. Rowton

CASSECATION -PROCESSING ACTION DISPATCH SECRET MARKED FOR MUSICIPAL Chief. Western Hemisphere Fivision NO INDIANG REGISTED DE-A ONEY CLASSED DESA CAM BUTUES AND LINE FP'm Chief of Station, Musico City DRECT PERMIN: Activities of LIRIEG-3, LIRIEG-4 May through Mid-September 1968 ACION REQUIRED - REFERENCES REF: HEMA 34682, 17 May 1968 Action Required: For your information. 1. Forwarded under seperate cover are twelve reports prepared by Wallace B. RCSTCH on the activities of LIRING-3, LIRING-4, and contacts of the letter. obtain help in getting LIKIES-1 out of joil in Gustensle as soon as possible. LIMING-6 is simpet penniless (ROFFOR has made only token payments to her after 15 June) and has been soving from one spertment to a cheeper one living on the cale of paintings left by LIRING-3 and small losas from ! Itist contacts. In the hope that she may be able to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has resisted all of ECTTE's efforts to get ber to undertake a clausestice mission to PERIMEN, a mission, as Beadquarters knows, was planted long ago. As a foreigner, LIRIES-4 cannot work in Mexico without toking the chance of being deported, if caught. Although she has not tried it, she would probably be refused a visa to so to Contamila to visit LIRIES. She might also face difficulties in Gustemmia including possible detention and interrogation if she succeeded in obtaining an entry permit to that country. 3. By mid-September 1958 LIRING-4 had received very little help from her Mariean leftist or cutright Communist friends. In spite of promises to try to bribe the Costemalan judge scheduled to try LIRING-3 all LIRING-4's "Triends" succeeded in doing was to print several articles in the local press (some of them with LIRING-3's photo) claiming that LIRING-3 was unjustly imprisoned, that he was about to be executed, etc. If saything, these ometianed Attachments: 12 reports u/s/e 31 4 Eden rets 1/s/e #2 Bistribution: Orig & 2 - C/WED w/atte is copy in 201-818342 201-795301 DECESS REPERDENCE NO DESPATOR STATEMENT ROLLEGE **IDOM - 35502** 26 September 1968 K FRE BLANKSE 2491 Tau 25 King 201-798301

articles did little to prejudice the Gustemalans in favor of LIRING-3.

As a matter of fact, the latter who succeeded in sending LIRING-4 a few letters via the Mexican Consul in Gustemala City who comes to visit him in jail, recently claimed that he was seved from a prison "transfer" by the Gustemalan army by the arrival of the Mexican Consul. LIRING-3 viewed this "transfer" purely and simply as an execution attempt.

- 4. LIRING-4 received even less help from LIRING who told her that there was nothing it could do to help LIRING-3. LILING-4, on the advice contained in one of the notes sent from prison by LIRING-1, kept eway from LIRING and its employees until she met LIRING-10 by accident at the office of one of the leftist papers on 27 July. LIRING-10 convinced her to resume her visits to LIRING. That the local PREUMENS still have doubts about LIRING-3 despite his imprisonment in Gustemala is indicated by the statements made by Rodolfo REYES (see ROWTCH's 17 July report) to the offect that the latter would not be willing to help LIRING-3 until he found out on what side of "el griego" (ROWTCH under false identity) he was. REYES added that LIRING suspects the "griego" of WOFIRM connections, although it has no definite proof of this.
- 5. Statements such as those made by RETES confirm the Station's belief that LIRIEG, upon orders from home, is still attempting to investigate breaver the decision of the Continue to attempt, through limited, to obtain the release of LIRIEG-3. Such an attempt, if it leaked, would not only expose LIRIEG-3 to PREUMEN and Guatemaism FAR reprisals. It would probably also have adverse repercussions on ROWTON's security. LIRIEG-11 whom ROWTON met briefly on 5 July (see ROWTON's report dated 9 July) said nothing about LIRIEG-3's arrest whem ROWTON complained that mail which he said he sent to LIRIEG-3 remained untrawered. It is also to be noted that RETES, who of course knows that LIRIEG-4 is in Mexico, told ROWTON that she was probably in PRRUMEN. This shows clearly the distrust with which LIRIEG views ROWTON.
- 6. LIRING-4 developed close relationship with Orlando \*SUAREZ of the Ministry of Culture now in Mexico at the invitation of the Mexican Communist mural painter David ALFARO Siqueiros. By mid-September, in fact, SUAREZ was staying at LIRING-4's epartment although LIRING-4 claimed to RCWTOH that there was no romancing between the two and that SUAREZ used her apartment because he was too broke to get one of his own. In view of LIRING-4's assessment of SUAREZ as very leftist and pro-AMTHUC-1 me effort was made to approach him.
- 7. Contacts between ROWTOH and LIRING-4 have taken place with decreasing frequency because the usefulness of LIRING-4 to NOFIRM has sharply decreased and bocause LIRING-4 is more and more convinced that ROWTOH cannot or will not help her obtain the release of LIRING-3. In her frantic efforts to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has in fact not had any contact with ROWTOH since early September. Unless LIRING-3 is released by the Guatemmian authorities or receives only a light sentence keeping him in jail only a short time longer, it is doubtful that LIRING-6 will be of much use to ROWTOH and the Station.

for Villard C. CURTIS

S38 USE MEQUOUS EDITION

SECRET

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	REP: MEXICO CITY 7335 (IN 99476)*		
	1. BOWTON RETURN STILL UNCERTAIN PEND	ING RESOLUTION	DEVELOPMENT
	ACCESS TO AMCAGE/1.		
	2. RE LIRING/4, ROWTON COULD SEND MONI	EY OSTENSIBLY	FROM L/4'S
	FATHER IN NEW YORK TO BAIL HER OUT OF PRESEN	ST DESPERATE S	SITUATION,
	BUT THIS WOULD BE ONLY TEMPORARY SOLUTION IN	S ADDITION IN	IERENT :
	SECURITY RISKS (FATHER IS REPORTEDLY HOSPIT:	ALIZED AND NOT	r in
<u>.</u> ,,	POSITION PROVIDE FINANCIAL HELP AT THIS TIME	E). L/4'S REF	ENGR IN
	LIRING ESTABLISHMENT, ON OTHER HAND, WHICH H	ROWTON COULD A	OT CONVINCE
eforta i	HER TO TAKE AS LONG AS HE WAS GIVING HER HO	KEY, WILL SERV	E TO IMPROVE
	HER ACCESS AND MAY LEAD TO REPATRIATION. RO	OWTON FEELS LA	ITTER
***	EVENTUALITY LIKELY ONLY IN EVENT HIS CONTINU	UED FAILURE RI	CONTACT
	HER-SINCE L/4 WOULD POSSIBLY HAVE NO OTHER A	ALTERNATIVE.	IN THAT

CASE, REBRIEFING AND RESUPPLY S/W PRECLUDED PRIOR DEPARTURE. ROWTON COULD DEBRIEF L/4 UPON HER RETURN MEXICO IF AND WHEN LIRING/3 RELEASED FROM PRISON AND CONTACT REESTABLISHED. CS COPY

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- 1. ROWTON SO FAR UNABLE LEARN MORE FROM LIRING-4 ABOUT HOW JUDGE SCHEDULED TRY CARLOS (JURADO) DELMAR COULD BE BRIBED OTHER THAN STATEMENT BY ARTURO (SERRANO) BEREA TO EFFECT THIS TO BE ARRANGED BY GUAT COMMUNIST PARTY AT REQUEST MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY. PERSON TO MAKE ACTUAL BRIBE, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT BE KNOWN AS LEFTIST.
- 2. MEXICO CITY ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILY "THE NEWS" 5 AUG CARRIED ARTICLE TITLED "MEXICAN ARTIST TO BE EXECUTED". ARTICLE QUOTED GROUP OF INTELLECTUALS INCLUDING PAINTERS, WRITERS, POETS AND SCULPTORS TO SAY GUAT ENTERED GUATEMALA IN HIS CAR FOUR MONTHS AGO AND PICKED UP SOME HITCHHIKING YOUTHS WHO LATER TURNED OUT BE CONNECTED WITH GUAT COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS. ARTICLE OBVIOUSLY PLANTED BY LOCAL LEFTISTS IN EFFORT SPREAD NEWS JURADO ARREST AND DETENTION TO FORCE OFFICIAL GUT INTERVENTION. ROWTON TRYING ESTABLISH FROM LIRING-4 WHO WHII file.

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Carlos JU-ADO was target of LIFEAT coverage on behalf of Cuba section. Toverage terminated 2 April 68. Name ancluded in list attacher to HMMA 3507L, 19July68

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1. HECTOR RODOLFO (SANDOVAL) ALEGRIA IS GUAT REBEL WHO
TOGETHER WITH FRANCISCO (LARA) ENGINEERED LIRING-3 AND FRANCISCO
LARA TRIP TO GUATEMALA WHERE NOW INCARCERATED. SANDOVAL SAW
LIRING-4 SEVERAL TIMES AFTER LIRING-3 ARREST AT ONE POINT SAYING
HE MIGHT HAVE TO HOLD UP BANK TO COME TO LIRING-4 ASSISTANCE.
ACCORDING MANUEL (MARCUE) PARDIMAS, SANDOVAL ARRESTED 5 MAY SHORTLY
AFTER HIS WIFE RETURNED FROM TRIP TO GUATEMALA. SANDOVAL WIFE
NOW STAYING AT HOUSE OWNED BY MARCUE TOGETHER WITH FAMILY FRANCISCO
LARA.

2. IN ATTEMPT COUNTER EVENTUALITY MEXICAN POLICE (ON BASIS
INFO PROVIDED BY SANDOVAL) MIGHT BE LOOKING FOR LIRING-4 FOR
INTERROGATION, STATION HAS ASKED LIRING-4 GIVE UP BOTH APARTMENTS
SHE AND LIRING-3 HAVE BEEN RENTING. LIRING-4 NOW LIVING WITH
GIRLFRIEND. BEFORE MOVING SHE RECEIVED VISIT OF MAN WHO DESCRIBED
SELF AS LAWYER OF MEXICAN EMBASSY GUATEMALA CITY. LAWYER SAID HE
APPOINTED DEFEND LIRING-3. LIRING-4 HAS RECEIVED FIVE SHORT

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,	FIR. ,
1. MANUELU/MARCHE) PARDINAS INFORMED LIRING-4 8 MAY TI	HAT HIS AA!
SISTER AND DAUGHTER IN LAW HAD SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING GUAT	T UTSA
SISIER AND DAUGHIER IN LAW HAD SUCCEEDED IN OBIRTHING COM	. 1/
AND TRAVELED GUATEMALA CITY IN AN EFFORT TO SEE CARLOS MI	NUEL (M)
(PERSAVAL) MARCUE IN JAIL. MARCUE SAID SISTER AND DAUGHTE	R IN LAW
WHO RETURNING WEEK 12 MAY LEARNED PARSAVAL AND LIRING-3SE	NTENCED
AND RELURBING ACCY IS AND FEBRUARD LYNONAUS MAD FILLING ODE	
TO MINIMUM TERM OF SIX MONTHS.	
2. LIRING-4 CURRENTLY EXPLORING POSSIBILITY TRAVEL GUI	AILMALA
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**SECRET** 

10 May 1968 19-120-13/1

E. LIRING-3: Daring this period, LIRING-3 was introduced to members of a Guatemalan exile LIRING-3 agreed to belp one or more representatives of this group cross the Guatemalan border. At the urging of these representatives he also agreed to meet in Guatemala with a woman in charge of logistics for the FAR movement. LIRING-3 spent the better part of the period under review manufacturing false documentation for the Guatemalan exiles. The Station used the LIZMBRACE surveillance team to cover some of the asetings between LIRING-3 and some of his mervous Guatemalan friends. Copies of photographs taken by the LIEMBRACEs of these meetings were forwarded to the Headquarters. Due to several postponements, LIRIEG-3 and his Guatemalan contacts had not left for Guatemala by the end of the period under revise.

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ITH FOLLOWING RESULT	S:			
A. OCCUPANTS OF	HOUSE ARE TI	RZO (FUENTES)	SANDOVAL,	
ORN 19 JULY 1922 AT	SAN ANTONIO	VILLASECA, DE	EPT OF RETAL	(ULEU,
ND HIS WIFE, MARIA D	EL MILAGRO (	PERALTA) E. E	E FUENTES.	СИО
TATION TRACES EITHER	FUENTES CR	WIFE.) BEAUTY	SHIP (SALO	I DE
TLLEZA "LILLIAN") AL	SO INSTALLED	IN HOUSE, BI	JT NOT YET AF	BLE
ETERMINE NAMES OF EN	IPL GYEES.			
B. ESLAIRS HAVE	NCT ICED 1963	MERCURY WITH	H GUAT LICENS	35
EATES P-31-341 PARKE	D AT HOUSE O	N SEVERAL OCC	CASIONS. THIS	CAR
EGISTERED TO FEDERIC	G (CALDERON)	GALICIA WHO	ADDRESS 21	AVENIDA
	TRACES			
2. ESLAIRS WILL AT			PERSONS S	SERVANTS
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